published monthly since 1866

The Fortnightly

FOUNDED IN 1865 BY ANTHONY TROLLOPE

OCTOBER, 1947 CMLXX N.S

Illinois U Library

CONTENTS

FREEDOM IN EDUCATION	ERIC JAMES
POST-MORTEM ON THE LOAN	R. P. SCHWARZ
SWORDS INTO PLOUGHSHARES	H. C. DENT
THE FARMER'S EFFORT : CAN HE MAKE IT ?	DOREEN WALLACE
PUBLIC RELATIONS	NEWSMAN
NATURAL JUSTICE AND UNNATURAL PROCEDURE	NORMAN BENTWICH
CHINA BETWEEN ZEAL AND BIGOTRY	TONY GIBSON
AN INDIAN CELEBRATION	MARGARET PATERSON
CONSTITUTIONAL LAW IN VENEZUELA	E. J. COHN
PERPETUUM MOBILE—*A Poem*	GORDON SYMES
THE LEGACY OF HISTORY	W. THOMSON HILL
PUBLIC LIVES	JOHN ARMITAGE

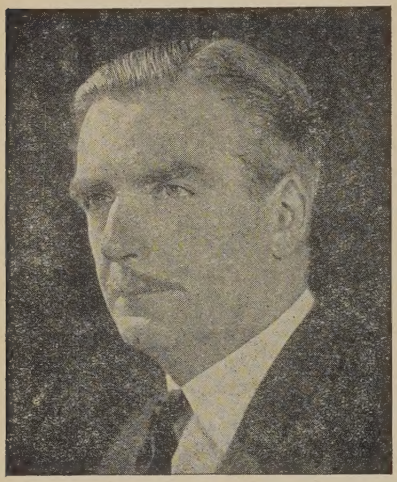
Correspondence—Education in Germany.

PRICE 3S. 6D. OR 75 CENTS ALL RIGHTS RESERVED 42S. OR $8.50 PER ANNUM

ALL CLASSES OF INSURANCE TRANSACTED

CAR & GENERAL
INSURANCE CORPORATION LIMITED
83, PALL MALL, LONDON, S.W.1.

FAMOUS MEN PLEAD HUMANITY'S CAUSE



MR. ANTHONY EDEN

writes:

"Medical Science and skill are employing every weapon in their power to combat this dread disease. But it is to us they turn for the necessary funds to help relieve the terrible sufferings of thousands of human beings. Our contributions will further research which will one day doubtless find a cure for cancer. Every penny we can spare brings that day nearer."

Please send a Gift to the Treasurer

The Royal Cancer Hospital

(FREE)

FULHAM ROAD LONDON, S.W.3

Illinois U Library

The Fortnightly—No. 970, New Series

THE FORTNIGHTLY

Published Monthly by The Fortnightly Review, Ltd., at 4, 5 & 6, Soho Sq., London, W.1

OCTOBER, 1947

CONTENTS

	PAGE
Freedom in Education. By Eric James	241
A Post-Mortem on the Loan. By R. P. Schwarz	251
Swords into Ploughshares. By H. C. Dent	259
The Farmer's Effort: Can He Make It? By Doreen Wallace ...	265
Public Relations. By Newsman	272
Natural Justice and Unnatural Procedure. By Norman Bentwich ...	279
China Between Zeal and Bigotry. By Tony Gibson	284
An Indian Celebration. By Margaret Paterson	291

This world-famed Sherry (formerly called Findlater's Fino) could not be registered under that name and thereby protected from imitators. For the safeguarding therefore of our world-wide clientele we have renamed it—Findlater's Dry Fly Sherry.

FINDLATER MACKIE TODD & CO. LTD.

Wine & Spirit Merchants to H.M. the King.

CONTENTS.—contd.

	PAGE
CONSTITUTIONAL LAW IN VENEZUELA. BY E. J. COHN	294
PERPETUUM MOBILE—*A Poem.* BY GORDON SYMES	300
THE LEGACY OF HISTORY. BY W. THOMSON HILL	301
EDUCATION IN GERMANY—*Correspondence.* WILLI HOMMEN	307

THE FORTNIGHTLY LIBRARY:

PUBLIC LIVES. BY JOHN ARMITAGE	308

Other Contributors: *O. M. Green, Gordon Winter, H. du Coudray, The Rev. B. C. Plowright, Walter James, Philip Morris, Grace Banyard.*

¶ While the Editor is glad to consider articles offered for publication, he cannot undertake to return MSS. unless accompanied by a stamped envelope.

¶ The Editorial, Advertising and General Business Offices of THE FORTNIGHTLY are at 4, 5 & 6, Soho Square, London, W.1.

¶ Entered as second-class matter, January 4, 1934, at the Post Office at New York, N.Y., under the Act of March 3, 1897 (Sec. 397 P.L. & R.).

¶ Registered for transmission by Canadian Magazine Post.

'Proper Treatment' of Pain

¶ *"Treatment is easy, thought is hard, but treatment after thought is proper and profitable"* was one of the precepts of Hippocrates, the Greek "Father of Medicine" who lived about 400 B.C.

¶ 'Cogene' is a 'treatment' for the relief of headaches, rheumatism and all other nerve pains. It is an easy treatment—one tablet taken in a little water—but it can claim to be a "proper and profitable" one, since it is the result of experiment and research.

¶ 'Cogene' is a direct outcome of a discovery that a small quantity of a powerful drug will do the work of a large dose provided that it is backed by the right combination of other drugs in the right proportions. In 'Cogene' four drugs have been scientifically blended to produce an analgesic which will 'reach' the most harassing nerve pain, and yet leave no harmful after-effects.

¶ But never forget that while 'Cogene' will relieve the pain, only your doctor or dentist can remove the cause of the pain. Supplies are limited, but your chemist will see you get *your* share. Price 1/1½d. a tube.

COGENE

Regd. Trade Mark — Brand Tablets

A 'GENATOSAN' Product

THE FORTNIGHTLY

OCTOBER, 1947

FREEDOM IN EDUCATION

BY ERIC JAMES

THE great reorganization and expansion of our educational system which is at present taking place necessarily raises a number of questions both of personal and of institutional liberty. Further, education is, in one of its aspects, a means for the transmission and perpetuation of moral and cultural standards: in another, it is one of the most powerful instruments of social change. Thus it is related to society both as a stabilizing and as a revolutionary force, and is therefore particularly sensitive to the ideas of freedom and authority current in society itself. We are concerned, moreover, as part of education, with teaching immature people our beliefs upon the most important questions, of which freedom itself is one. It is for these reasons that a discussion of freedom in education may be held to have interest for others than those professionally concerned with it.

Liberty is concerned with the proper adjustment of relationships, and in education a number of different kinds of relationship are involved. The relations between the teacher and the pupil, the teacher and the school, the school and the parent, and the school and various outside bodies, one of which may be the State, are all capable of raising questions of the proper extent of authority. So when we speak of liberty in education we must specify with the greatest care which particular kind of relationship we are discussing. It is for lack of such precision that there is the greatest confusion in current educational literature in the use of such phrases as "a genuinely democratic education."

We may find, perhaps, the most suitable starting point for our inquiry in the relations of pupil and teacher. In no field of education has there been a greater change in the last century, and particularly in the last twenty-five years, than in the degree of freedom allowed to the child. Two hundred and fifty years ago even as superficially advanced a writer as Locke put absolute obedience high among juvenile virtues; Wesley's celebrated advice: "Break their wills betimes: begin this work before they can run alone, before they can speak plain, perhaps before they can speak at all, whatever pains it costs, break the will if you would not damn the child . . ." shocks us even more than it shocked his biographer, Southey. The difference between this and ordinary contemporary practice is striking enough; the contrast with the most extreme modern doctrines is that of two religious systems. The Augustinian theology of Wesley led him to the view that since the inclinations of the child are naturally wicked, liberty has too many dangers for him. It is important to recognize

that the school of completely free expression rests upon a no less dogmatic belief in natural goodness, though this doctrinal basis is not usually explicit. A point of view diverging from both of these in foundation, though leading to an authoritarianism similar to the former, is that which sprung from Plato. If we believe that the knowledge and experience of some adult minds gives them some knowledge of the Good, have we not an obligation to impose upon the young the standards so obtained? If this view is adopted there is only a very limited place for legitimate liberty in this department of education. This is a question to which we must return. At this point I will merely draw attention to an inconsistency in the views of those who advocate complete freedom for the child from restriction or even guidance. Mr. A. S. Neill, for example, one of the best known of such advocates, admits that in questions of personal cleanliness authority must impose rules of behaviour in order to preserve health. The weakness of this admission is obvious. If the health of the body necessitates limitations on the child's freedom how much more the health of the soul, replies the Platonist or the Christian. And to defend himself from this attack, the libertarian must retire into an agnosticism concerning any except the most material aspects of life so profound as, in the opinion of many, to disqualify him from legitimately assuming the title of teacher. It is, of course, such agnosticism that has been one of the contributory factors in the growth of libertarianism in education. In the moral and spiritual spheres there are few things that teachers regard as certain enough to make the basis of an imposed code of belief and action.

In addition to an increased liberty for the individual child, there is also a contemporary movement that gives greater liberty to children as a group in the school as opposed to other authority, a movement that obviously owes much of its impetus to the development of political democracy. It is not always clear what is implied by the word ' democracy ' in educational contexts; often what is meant is in fact an oligarchy of prefects. But from the general idea springs various experiments, some of undoubted value, involving school councils, form parliaments, and similar devices of self-government in the schools. Attractive though many of these schemes are, they must be examined most critically, for in my view they are dangerous for several reasons. Such experiments make the assumption that patterns of behaviour inculcated in childhood will express themselves in analogous terms in adult life, that is to say that the child who has practice in electing his form captain will be more likely to become an active and intelligent voter than one who has not. This assumption is at present without any great foundation. On the other hand it is an experimental fact that children can be extremely cruel and undoubtedly unjust, and any system which gives them the freedom to tyrannize over others in the name of liberty is full of danger. Further, among the principal psychological needs of children is security. A system that may give the impression of an absence of fixed rules, and in which too many alternatives are open to the child's own

choice, lays a responsibility and a sense of lack of order upon the child that may well be too heavy. Such systems of self-government also often have an essentially unreal character that children are quick to recognize. In practically no school could a vote of the school council succeed, for example, in getting the school hall painted crimson, or in eliminating some essential subject from the curriculum. At such a point authority would step in, and the reply: 'But they would never *ask* a thing like that' indicates the unreality that underlies many of these experiments in so-called democracy. In so far as the lessons learned at school are carried on to adult life, then the practice of a counterfeit democracy in which real power does not lie with the 'people' might be held to produce a subsequent distrust of the whole idea. The school is a community which, in fact, is not comparable to a State of adult citizens. This is not to say that we must fall back on a pure authoritarianism, which tells the child what is the right course, and exacts obedience. We must not forget the educative effect of making choices. It is possible, however, to have such scope for choice, as it is to employ methods of co-operation and consultation at every level in the school, without the apparatus of spurious and inappropriate democratic forms.

There is one further aspect of freedom in the relationship between pupil and teacher: that which concerns the choice of the subjects of study. Obviously the consensus of opinion is in favour of some very clear restriction in the earlier stages, since the essentials of literacy are necessary for any kind of further study and for citizenship itself. But beyond the primary stage there is no such agreement. In schools of the grammar school type there are usually a number of compulsory studies, and the universities lay down, as is well known, a certain standard in a group of subjects for all their entrants, whatever their specialism. Such a restriction of freedom is manifestly based on the idea that there is a core of knowledge which all educated men should possess, though it is curious and unfortunate that little definite thought has gone into the positive formulation of what constitutes that body of knowledge in a democratic community, for individuals of different levels of intelligence. There is, in my view, no more difficult and important educational task. It is interesting to see that in America, where the freedom which could regard unrelated courses in world history, agricultural chemistry, English grammar and physical education as an adequate preparation for citizenship, has hitherto flourished, there are now signs that the idea of a basic liberal education is gaining ground, whether in the form of the 100 necessary books as at Chicago, or in the prescription of certain groups of studies as in the recent reports from Harvard and Columbia. In this country, on the other hand, forces are at work which will certainly have the effect of increasing the child's freedom in the choice of subjects and diminishing the obligatory elements. In my opinion such a tendency is almost entirely lamentable. I believe that unless we realize that for various abilities and aptitudes there are groups of subjects more valuable than others, our whole society will be the poorer.

I have indicated thus far that my attitude towards the pupil-school relationship in the three broad fields of moral teaching, general organization and intellectual training is rather more authoritarian than is at present fashionable, for in all these aspects of educational activity I feel that though authority must be more rational and less arbitrary than it has sometimes been, yet authority there must always be. At once a new question presents itself: who should be the guardians of this authority in our schools and universities? What, we may ask, is the appropriate form of government, and how much power should it exercise? If we agree that the headmaster should be able to tell the school council that he will not have the school hall painted red, we must decide who is to issue similar prohibitions to the headmaster. In fact the controlling authorities may be the central government, the local government, or a body of governors, and vaguer though real forces include such influences as that of parents or of religious bodies. In questions of curriculum we must add to these the demands of universities, of examining boards, of professional bodies and of industry. The forces which limit the freedom of the school, which in this context means the teachers and headteacher, are thus numerous and overlapping, and their authority differs in weight with the kind of school and with other variables. We thus have to discuss not only how much control over liberty there should be, but also which body is appropriate to exercise it. At the present time in education, as in much else, control is becoming more concentrated in the instruments of the State or of local government, and it is this tendency which gives rise to much contemporary concern, since it is feared that this must lead to 'loss of liberty.' But, it may be argued, does not this concern show a fundamental distrust of the democratic idea itself? To some degree I believe this retort to be justified, and the fear of State control and even of local control of education to be ill-founded. But the position is more complex than it sometimes appears, and in considering the apportionment of ultimate authority for the conduct of schools the following factors must be borne in mind.

First, ability tends to follow power, and if the powers of individual teachers are too much curtailed, as some local authorities tend to do, the calibre of men and women wishing to teach rather than to administer will decline, with disastrous results. Secondly, in a democratic society dispute should be dealt with as far as possible by discussion. Such discussion is only fruitful if it follows from personal contact and interest, and therefore I believe that the claim that every school should have its own governing body is well founded, even if that body is but an intermediary between the school and the ultimate democratic authority. Thirdly, and this is by far the most important point, it may well be that some elected bodies really are incapable of exercising authority wisely over the whole field of education. For consider, in the light of what we have said, how wide that field is. The ultimate authority is not concerned only with bricks and mortar, with enforcing literacy and with seeing that public money

is wisely spent: it is charged with the transmission of moral and cultural values. Its work ranges from the problems of plumbing to those of belief. It was for this reason that in the Platonic republic the highest duty of the guardians was the supervision of education. In the absence of philosopher kings it is doubtful whether any one body can or should be the ultimate authority on questions from different parts of so wide a field as that comprehended in the single word 'education'. It is, of course, true that the elected authority is perfectly fitted to decide many educational problems. It will probably be admitted that society has the right and the duty to impose certain minimum standards upon schools and parents, standards of health, of attendance, of pedagogic competence and so on, and for the discharge of these primary obligations the elected authority is probably the right instrument. But for dealing with other kinds of questions it is by no means necessarily so. There are few who seriously maintain, for example, that local education authorities are competent to administer universities. Yet the spiritual and intellectual problems involved in the highest forms of some schools are not vastly different from those of the university.

It may, of course, be objected at this point that local education authorities have the advice of experts in their directors and their staffs, while the central government has both an administrative staff and an inspectorate. But if, indeed, the directors are to direct, the concentration of power over a social force as potent as education in so few hands offers great dangers, and these dangers are, at any rate theoretically, not lessened by the high qualities of many of those who at present hold these positions. It was for this reason that a director who is perhaps as well fitted as any to pronounce on questions of value remarked that he disliked the phrase 'director of education' as implying far too great a concentration of power. The same reservations must be made concerning the central government as the ultimate authority in education. In short, though the individual school should be prepared to accept the direction of a democratic central and local government in a number of matters affecting its life and work, and though it must listen with respect to their advice on the context and final direction of education, there legitimately can and should be misgivings when it is suggested that their direction in these matters should be absolute. The questions we have to answer concerning educational freedom are thus not only: 'Who shall exercise authority and how much authority shall they wield?' but also: 'in what specific fields of educational work is a particular body thoroughly competent to speak?'

It is usually, then, for the content and ultimate idealism of education that we are concerned when we use such phrases as 'academic freedom' or when we show apparent distrust of the democratic method by referring to 'outside interference with the schools or the universities.' The demands, for example, that 'politics should be kept out of education,' though strictly impossible since, as Plato showed conclusively, the two are almost aspects of the same

problem, have a foundation in the feeling that we mean something by ' the tradition of culture ' which should maintain a degree of continuity in spite of changes of power within the State, and to this extent should transcend as far as it may its authority. Nevertheless the content of education, with all that it implies, must be under some control. It cannot be left to the unsupported opinions of individual educators. What then is the appropriate controlling force if the elected bodies in the State and their servants are felt to be incompetent for this particular task?

Ultimately the sovereign power in this field of education can only be the consensus of academic opinion, working through a variety of agencies. In practice this is to a great degree the method by which control is at present exercised. Through examining bodies, co-opted members and representatives of learned institutions on education committees and governing bodies, through professional organizations of teachers and the Ministry's inspectorate, and through committees appointed by the Ministry for various educational purposes, the ' clerisy ' makes its influence felt and curtails the freedom of individual educators. That such forces are at work to maintain the character and the standards of the content of education is perhaps so obvious that it may be thought not worth mentioning. Yet I believe that it is a fact of great importance, for the guardians of this tradition are not sufficiently conscious of their function, and there are, moreover, tendencies developing in our society which may either destroy this control and replace it by a disintegrating libertarianism, or hand it over to bodies which are incompetent to discharge it. It cannot be maintained that the academic class, what I have called for want of a better term the ' clerisy ', now feels any real sense of responsibility for the character of education as a whole. Its interest is lukewarm and inexpert, when it is not purely sectional. Nor is this surprising when we consider what has happened to this class under the pressure of social and economic changes. It has expanded enormously and it has lost homogeneity. Further the division of the ' clerisy ' into specialists, even at the higher levels, has created a grave lack of concern for the nature of education in its broadest sense, and one result has been that the most fundamental questions of educational policy, such as what shall be taught in a rapidly changing social and cultural environment, have hardly been discussed at all. The very conditions which make such discussions more than ever vital have made them the less often conducted.

The danger is apparent when we consider the abrogation of responsibility on the part of the universities which is implied by the creation of professorships of education. We may have unquestioned experts on the history of education, in the techniques of testing intelligence, in child psychology, or even in the practice of teaching. But such experts need not necessarily have a truer vision of the proper ends of education in its fullest sense than a professor of mineralogy, though some of them do, of course, possess such a vision. Again, though we must welcome the growing use of committees and councils for

educational inquiries, as an encouraging sign that means are being sought to voice and maintain the authority of the tradition of culture in educational questions, yet the composition of such committees must be scrutinized with the greatest care. Such bodies, in my view, should exercise great authority, but this authority will only be a source of danger if it puts the power to modify our whole national culture into the hands of those who, whatever their distinction as administrators, or psychologists, or teachers, are without a synoptic vision of that culture. The development of isolated fields of knowledge has, I believe, no result more dangerous than the creation of specialist experts in education itself. It should be a humbling thought that there have been very few even moderately good books on education, and only one great one, and that it required the greatest of all philosophers to produce that one.

The expansion of the group concerned with education does not, therefore, imply a strengthening of its power, but rather a weakening. Yet some authority is especially necessary when we are faced with the danger that in an effort to create a common or democratic culture, standards may be submerged by too great reverences for the opinions of majorities in matters, such as morals or aesthetics, where they are not valid. Our educational institutions also, in a rapidly changing environment, are subject to constant pressure to adjust themselves to what are ambiguously called 'the needs of society.' Thus the ' needs of society ' are sometimes held to demand that Spanish rather than Greek should be the fourth language in grammar schools, or that a chair of plastics-technology is a more proper part of a modern university than one of classical archaeology. The discussion of the proper meaning that should be attached to such phrases as ' relatedness to life ', or ' the needs of society ' in educational thought would take us too far from our central topic, but in my view it cannot be too clearly realized that the only check upon such pressure, is a lively, informed, and articulate concern on the part of the ' clerisy ', working through advisory panels, examining bodies and the like. No confusion in educational thought is more serious than that which sees in the needs of society simply a response to economic and social forces and fails to interpret them also in a moral and spiritual sense.

We can see an example of the indifference and impotence of academic opinion in the contemporary attacks upon external examinations. The subject may seem a very narrow and specialized one, unworthy of notice in a general survey. Yet I believe that more important principles are involved than is usually realized. Hitherto it has been held that all pupils in grammar schools should attempt to reach a common minimum of attainment in certain groups of subjects. The school certificate, imperfect as it is, is in fact laying down a criterion of general education for the boy or girl of certain intelligence. With the abolition of the school certificate such an agreed core might disappear. It may be that this result will not follow; it may be that the freedom from an external examination will be for the curriculum a legitimate and healthy free-

dom. The point that I wish to make is that a change so radical that may have profound results on the whole of higher education should occur with little thought and less comment at the higher academic levels, whose vital concern it should certainly be.

I believe, then, that in the content of education with all that this implies—the maintenance of a living culture, the proper adjustment of curriculum to contemporary economic and social changes, and the embodiment of new psychological discoveries—the only competent bodies should be composed mainly not of administrators, qua administrators, nor of those who are expert in special areas of the educational field, but of those who may be supposed to have explored the really fundamental issues involved, and these can be found mainly in the highest academic groups. The problems of liberty and authority in education impose on them a grave responsibility which there are signs that they are unwilling to assume; a responsibility to make themselves knowledgeable and concerned over general questions of educational policy; to speak with the authority that comes from an awareness of the values of a culture whose inheritors they are and whose boundaries it is their highest function to extend. It is for them to create an authority that is strong, yet which never crystallizes into an inelastic orthodoxy.

If the ultimate authority on the intellectual aspects of education must be the consensus of informed academic opinion expressing itself through a new 'clerisy', what are we to say of the moral and religious aspects? It would, of course, be quite wrong to make a definite division between the cultural and the moral elements in education: at every point the two overlap. Yet it is true that in practice there is a difference in the readiness with which we are prepared to accept a compulsion to teach all boys arithmetic and one to teach them all divinity, and, indeed, such a difference is legally recognized by the right given to parents to withdraw their children from religious teaching and not from that of other subjects. I have already touched on some of the questions ultimately involved. It is an essential part of education to inculcate certain moral attitudes: so much is scarcely ever seriously denied. Very many thinkers would indeed maintain that its chief aim, to which all activities must be subordinated, is the creation of goodness. But there will be deep divergences if we attempt to state which principles of moral experience are sufficiently agreed as to form a basis for teaching, and still greater controversy as to how far such moral teaching must have a religious basis. It will be generally agreed that society working through all its educational agencies, official and unofficial, has the right to demand that its schools shall teach its children, for example, that lying and stealing are wrong; over the question as to whether such moral behaviour shall be related to the character of Jesus there will be less agreement; and a demand that all teachers should be compelled to teach that Jesus was the son of God would be regarded as a grave infringement of proper liberty. We are here faced with a genuine dilemma which arises from the whole character

of modern society, and which is seen in its most simple and acute form in the schools. The difficulty is one to which I have already drawn attention. If we believe that we know the nature of the Good then surely it is our most pressing educational obligation to indoctrinate others with that knowledge. Yet it is precisely for that view, shared of necessity to some extent by any educator, that naïve and superficial thinkers accuse Plato of being a fascist before his time. And there is this justification for their view that our own society has agreed that over the areas of experience covered by morality and religion there shall be the widest possible tolerance.

Nevertheless, the difficulty remains. In particular it may be questioned how far the basic principles of social behaviour rest upon religious beliefs. From 1870 until 1944 the State in its control over the schools took the view that the two were quite distinct, so that schools were free to give religious teaching or not as they thought fit; if given, such religious teaching must be free of dogmatic elements though the difficulties of such a position were left discreetly unclarified. The controversies of 1870 and of 1902 showed how deeply the questions of the religious background of education affected the national life. By the Education Act of 1944, however, State-aided schools are obliged to include religious worship and religious teaching in the education they provide, though tolerance is preserved by the fact that such teaching must be undenominational in character, and freedom by the right of withdrawal. The Act is thus trying to overcome the moral dangers of the secularization of education to which A. E. Taylor, for example, drew attention when he wrote: "It may quite well be that the future philosophical student of history will yet find the most significant and disquieting of all the social changes of the "Victorian Age" to be the combination of State-enforced primary education with the transference of the work of the teacher to the hands of the layman under no effective ecclesiastical or theological control. . . . . It is of the very nature of a living religion to claim the supreme direction of effort and action. If the claim is disallowed, religion itself ceases to be real; if it is allowed, it is idle to dispute the right of religion to be made the foundation of education." (*The Faith of a Moralist.*) The question thus remains to be answered: what "effective ecclesiastical or theological control" can be regarded to-day as competent to decide the character of religious teaching? The answer is: none at all. In matters of religion it is useless to expect that coherence of belief that I have urged as a necessity in the intellectual field. This is a characteristic of our age and our society, and its full discussion would take me beyond my subject. I must content myself with the observations of a practising teacher on the problem.

First, is its existence as disturbing as it sometimes appears? The absence of a recognized authority over certain fields of life is simply the price we pay for tolerance. It may be that the whole experiment of religious tolerance is mistaken and doomed to perish in a general disintegration of standards. If

we believe this, then we must declare ourselves as honestly intolerant and be prepared to define the authority that we would be prepared to accept. We cannot have it both ways; speaking wistfully of the need for spiritual authority and at the same time hoping to reap the virtues of toughened individual consciences that should be produced by a greater freedom in these fields. Secondly, we must ask if the disintegration is as deep as we sometimes imagine. If we seek new ways to formulate them it may well be that there are more presuppositions than we are prone to believe where there is still agreement, and which can be safely made the basis for moral education and legitimate indoctrination. Finally, we must not make the mistake of confusing tolerance with indifference. It is not only right but necessary for teachers with strong moral and religious beliefs to state them. Such freedom must be subject to limits, and it may be objected that I have stated that there is no relevant authority to pronounce upon these matters. I would contend, however, that while no single authority can pronounce positively, a number of educational authorities have the right to lay down the limits beyond which the individual should not go in moral or religious indoctrination. Such questions are, I believe, best solved individually and on the merits of each case. It is an error, into which we too easily fall, to despair if we cannot, with complete generality, lay down rules to govern every problem of belief in education. The whole assumption of a free society is that individuals are, on the whole, sensible, and it is on this sense expressing itself in individual decisions that we must rely for the limitation of illegitimate liberty in the moral and religious spheres.

But what many will call a dangerous libertarianism in the religious field (and whether dangerous or not I contend only that it is unavoidable), may be stabilized by that genuine authority in our intellectual life that I have already stressed. The two fields are in the closest degree inter-related: a necessary freedom in one must be balanced by a determination in the other to maintain with all possible resolution that not all views are equally true, nor all pursuits equally valuable. Such an emphasis on the value of the educated judgment as opposed to that over-emphasis on the personal opinion, whatever its weight, that is one of the dangers of democracy, such a new note of conviction and re-affirmation of authority in our academic life would have a bracing effect on all our activities, and not least in the moral sphere. It is the function of inspectors, of administrators, of the schools and perhaps most of all, of the universities, to supply it. Upon them rests the responsibility for maintaining the standards of Western culture through an era of immense social change, and of ensuring that as wider social groups come into their inheritance of that culture it has not been mortgaged in the name of liberty.

(*The author is High Master of Manchester Grammar School. His article is based on a paper read to the Manchester Literary and Philosophical Society.*)

A POST-MORTEM ON THE LOAN

By R. P. Schwarz

BRITAIN'S political and economic pundits have, for a long time, preferred Coué to Cassandra. That has landed them and us where we are now.

Among the Couéists one must, in this instance, unfortunately include even so outstanding a man as the late Lord Keynes. In his defence of the Loan agreement, he found himself suddenly in the company of all the minds mediocrity could muster. That fact alone, if nothing else, should have warned him that there was something fundamentally wrong with that defence.

It is not, perhaps, superfluous to quote the five chief arguments which Lord Keynes developed in the course of his last speech in the House of Lords (December 18, 1945):

> Questions have been raised—and rightly and reasonably raised—about the willingness of the United States to receive repayment (of the Loan) hereafter. This is a large subject to which I have given a great deal of thought, but I shall not have time to develop it fully to-day. I am not, as a result, quite so worried as most people. Indeed, if in the next five or ten years, the dollar turns out to be a scarce currency, seldom will so many people have been right. It is a very technical matter, very emphatically within their past experience, but not so easily the subject of future prediction. I am afraid I must content myself with a few headlines. First, it is not a question of our having to pay the United States by direct exports; we could never do that. Our exports are not, and are not likely to be as large as our direct imports from the United States. The object of the multilateral system is to enable us to pay the United States by exporting to any part of the world and it is partly for that very reason that the Americans have felt the multilateral system was the only sound basis for any arrangement of this kind. Secondly, all the most responsible people in the United States, and particularly in the State Department and in the Treasury, have entirely departed from the high tariff, export subsidy conception of things, and will do their utmost with, they believe, the support of public opinion in the opposite direction. That is why this international trade convention presents us with such a tremendous opportunity. For the first time in modern history the United States is going to exert its full, powerful influence in the direction of reduction of tariffs, not only of itself, but by all others.
>
> Thirdly, this is a problem of which to-day every economist and publicist in the United States is acutely conscious. Books on economics are scarcely written about anything else. They would regard it as their fault and not ours if they fail to solve it. They would acquit us of blame—quite different from the atmosphere of ten or twenty years ago. They will consider it their business to find a way out. Fourthly, if the problem does arise, it will be a problem, for reasons I have just mentioned, of the United States *vis-à-vis* the rest of the world and not us in particular. It will be the problem of the United States and the whole commercial and financial arrangement of every other country. Fifthly—and perhaps this is the consideration which is least prominent in people's minds—the United States is rapidly becoming a high-living and a high-

cost country. Their wages are two and a half times ours. These are the historical classical methods by which in the long run international equilibrium will be restored. (*Hansard,* Lords, 18-12-1945, colns. 792 and 793.)

Of these five points, Lord Keynes has been right only on one, the fourth, and even then only because he assumed, by this particular argument, that he might be wrong. As to the rest, seldom has so brilliant an economist proved himself so wrong, so decisively, so quickly.

On the first count, Lord Keynes was wrong because, with the exception of the lend-lease period, the dollar shortage has been, for a long time, a world-wide experience, steadily growing worse in extent and intensity. During the relevant years, the decisive fact was the *overall* surplus in the United States balance of payments. The United States, in other words, showed an excess of claims on foreign countries, over the aggregate claims of all other countries on the United States. Individually, at one time or other, a given country may have been its creditor. But the total claims of all the countries which found themselves in this fortunate position, were then—and are even more so now—inferior to the total indebtedness of the remainder. Had this not been so, no overall surplus could have arisen in the United States balance of payments. This fundamental fact was as clearly perceptible in 1942, 1943, 1944 and 1945 as it is to-day. For, nobody could assume, even then, that the sudden deficit in the United States balance of payments during 1942 to 1945, was anything but a passing phenomenon, exclusively provoked by the war and the peculiar lend-lease method adopted to finance it.*

On the second count, Lord Keynes was equally wrong. It could not be unknown to him that even among " all the most responsible people in the United States " the comprehension of America's economic position and of the consequences that followed from that position, was by no means as thorough-going as he would have it. Had this even been the case, its practical importance would still have been by far inferior to Lord Keynes's hopeful expectations. One cannot help remembering the old story about the dogs which bark, but don't bite. It is all very well for us to know that, but does the dog know? What mattered, therefore, was not the opinion of " all the most responsible people ". Far more important was what all the not so responsible people believed or disbelieved. Had the opinion of responsible circles mattered so much, why would fear of Congress have led the American negotiators of the Loan to reject, one after another, the initial proposals which Lord Keynes had brought to the States? As the incident of the Wool Tariff Bill, recently vetoed by President Truman, again clearly demonstrated, the incomprehension

* The *Economic Journal,* Vol. LVI, No. 222, of June 1946, published posthumously an article by Lord Keynes under the title *The Balance of Payments of the United States.* In this article, he developed in greater detail the arguments first advanced in his speech in the Lords. The article contains impeccable statistics. But its conclusions rest on the sanguine assumption that all conceivable favourable factors would simultaneously come into play, without interference by any adverse factors. Such is essentially the assumption of the Monte Carlo gambler.

of the not so responsible people is still an important factor to be reckoned with. That was even more so the case in 1945. And only the proneness of the intellectual to over-estimate the importance of opinions held by other intellectuals, can account for the weight Lord Keynes attributed to the minority views of the U.S. State Department and U.S. Treasury.

No less erroneous were Lord Keynes's views on the third count. For while it is quite likely that " every economist and publicist in the United States is acutely conscious of the problem involved "—which is that of the United States balance of payments—it does not follow therefrom that he is also aware of the right solution. In fact, the vast majority of American economists were then, and are still, inhibited by two equally optimistic assumptions, namely first that the expansion of world trade as such, to be achieved by multilateral methods, would be sufficient to remove the worst obstacles at present arising from the dollar shortage, the " supply of dollars " being increased if U.S. imports expand in volume and amount; and, secondly, that failing the success of this method, singly, foreign lending would do the rest. But practically all of them resolutely dismissed from their minds the shocking thought that both methods combined might still not be enough.

The touchstone of real understanding on the other side of the Atlantic was not therefore, mere consciousness of the problem. Lord Keynes's third argument would have carried weight only had he been able to point to a considerable body of public (and not only expert) opinion admitting the necessity of a permanent import surplus in the United States balance of payments. But the truth is that even enlightened American opinion does not go further than to advocate an increase in American imports. It does not recommend an actual import surplus, *which is the only solution of the problem.* That means heavy reductions in the American tariff, and *unilateral* reductions at that. This is, of course, a political impossibility at present, even though it be a logical and economic necessity. But unless and until politics are squared with economics, only expedients, but no solution, can be found.

No less rash was it, on Lord Keynes's part, to assume that the United States would " acquit us of blame " if the problem could not be solved. If the Loan Agreement succeeded in passing Congress, it did so only after many Congressmen had abundantly blamed Britain. And it might not have passed this hurdle even then, but for the fact that over the period occupied by its discussion in Congress, it had, in the eyes of most, ceased to be a measure designed to help Britain, to become a distinctly anti-Soviet measure. And if, to-day, Congress were to take action on the Marshall offer, it would be in similar circumstances and for the same reasons.

But nowhere was Lord Keynes's misjudgment more serious than on the fifth count. " The United States is rapidly becoming a high-living and a high-cost country," he said. And a similar sentence will be found in his article, already mentioned, in *The Economic Journal.* In any case, the argument thus invoked

—the restoration of international equilibrum by a rise in the American price level, leading to a reduction of American exports—can apply only on a long-term view. For such a rise, except in cases of galloping inflation, takes a considerable time to make itself felt. But is the argument correct even then? It is quite possible that America may become a country of even higher living costs than heretofore. In fact, living costs in the United States have for a long time past been higher than in most countries. But it is just for this very reason, namely, the high cost of living unaccompanied by a corresponding expansion in the purchasing power of the lower income brackets, that the pressure to export is considerably increased. It may not be a case of " export or die " but it is at least one of " export or slump ". And while high living costs may adversely affect industrial costs, the high rate of technological progress and the savings secured from mass production for an enormous domestic market, have so far more than sufficiently compensated the high cost of living. *A priori,* there is no reason to believe that this compensation will suddenly cease. The whole of Lord Keynes's fifth argument rests on a confusion between high *living* costs and high *industrial* costs—a remarkable confusion indeed for so subtle an economic theorist.

It is, however, possible to be right for the wrong reasons. Thus, Lord Keynes could have been wrong on each individual count, yet right on the whole aspect of the case. But even that merciful interpretation of his views has been utterly disproved by events. The fact is not surprising. A policy based on the most sanguine expectations, a policy which, at the same time made no allowance for adverse factors, stood every chance of suffering shipwreck. Lord Keynes's second incursion into international economic-political affairs thus proved no happier than the first. The first bore the title *The Economic Consequences of the Peace;* the second will obviously be called *The Economic Consequences of Lord Keynes.**

II

Is all this only rear-view or wisdom after the event? By no means. The economic doctrine of Clause 7 of the Mutual-Aid Agreements and its sequels, the Bretton Woods agreements and the American loans to Britain and other countries have been rejected in this country, since 1943 at least, by *The Economist, The Times,* Mr. L. S. Amery, Mr. Robert Boothby, M.P., Mr. Norman Smith, M.P., Dr. Paul Einzig, Dr. Thomas Balogh and myself†—and this list of names lays no claim to completeness. In France, Monsieur J. Lévy-

* I should not like the reader to believe that it gives me any pleasure to criticize a man who can no longer speak in his defence. But it is impossible to pass over important facts in silence. For my high valuation of Lord Keynes as a theoretical economist, see my article *A Posthumous Debate: Mantoux versus Keynes* in THE FORTNIGHTLY, December 1946.

† *Bretton Woods* (October 1944); *Bretton Woods and the Debtor Countries* (October 1945); *The Anglo-American Agreements* (February 1946), all in THE FORTNIGHTLY. See also L. S. Amery, *The Washington Loan Agreements* (1945); Dr. P. Einzig, *Currency after the War,* etc.

Jacquemin, in his book *L'Economie du Monde** arrived by a somewhat different reasoning at very similar conclusions.

The fact that writers of very different political complexion made common cause in condemning the wishful thinking of our economic Couéists, should have warned the authorities that this was a matter in which thinking counted more than voting. The Governments of the day—first Mr. Churchill's coalition, then Mr. Attlee's Labour government—contented themselves with taking the opinion of their experts. That opinion was indeed something to go by, particularly as among these experts, some men could be found whose advice had in the past been successful in maintaining the number of Britain's unemployed around the two-million mark, while others had learned their economics from them. Safe their opinion was in so far as it did not stray from well-trodden paths, but, alas, not sound. Admittedly, though, one factor in the situation might have misled even a far-sighted government: Lord Keynes had this time joined the ranks of the orthodox. Yet, he had previously been an "unsafe", an unorthodox, expert. Thus it happened that in the view of the orthodox, the minority view, diametrically opposed to their own, became known as "A Page of British Folly".

> "The indifference and the doubt of responsible British people (in regard to the Anglo-American Agreements)" wrote the author of a pamphlet published under this very title, "constitutes, to my judgment, an unparalleled folly. The detailed plans so far put forward may well contain points that should be criticized. But the criticism actually emanating from respectable sources in this country has been mainly ill-informed and often quite absurd."

Any comment on this passage could only weaken its involuntary humour.

Yet, it was such minds as this, expressing platitudes in servile language, who advised other minds of similar calibre. The one mind that cannot be thus dismissed, Mr. Churchill's, was unfortunately in matters economic unburdened by any deeper understanding of the issues involved, and in matters political strongly biased in favour of any solution that would maintain a common Anglo-American front. He and those who think like him seem to be closed to the thought that this front could be maintained—and on a much more solid basis—without any British subservience or the abandonment of reasonable British interests, if only because the U.S.A., in its hysterical fear of Soviet Russia, needs Britain, as we have already been assured, in the pleasant rôle of "shock absorber".

Britain's governments, for decades past, have been haunted by the mistaken idea that the United States must be appeased at any cost. In this respect at least, there is little to choose between Mr. Churchill and Mr. Eden, on the one hand, and Mr. Attlee and Mr. Bevin, on the other. And not all the votes of Bournemouth, Margate, Southport or, for that matter, Blackpool will ever make a great Foreign Secretary, only a policy will.

In THE FORTNIGHTLY of February 1946, I wrote:

* Sirey, editors, Paris (1946).

But if the Coalition Government is responsible for having initiated the general policy of these agreements (the Washington Loan Agreements), the present Government must take the blame for having done very little to find an alternative policy. It confined itself to painting in the darkest colours the fatal consequences for this country which a rejection of the Washington Agreements would have entailed. Undoubtedly, that course would have led to a serious aggravation of present stringencies. But the Government has assumed rather too quickly that the nation would have rejected further privations *had it been aware of the issue involved.* One can understand that a Conservative government, for reasons of social and economic affinity with a free-enterprise America, should decide to link the fate of the country to that of the United States; also that for this very reason, it should not have been over-anxious to explain the issue to the nation between July 1944, date of the signing of the Bretton Woods Agreements, and July 1945, date of its defeat at the polls. But it is . . . . an irony of history that a Socialist government should follow the same policy. If one observes the privations borne by liberated Europe, if one considers the sacrifices which Russia has accepted for the past quarter of a century—precisely in order to remain master in her own house—it is difficult to believe that the British people, so proud of its independence, would have refused further sacrifices, no doubt far less grievous. As nothing was done to enlighten the nation on this vital issue, the conclusion follows that one would hardly have acted differently had one not wished to find an alternative . . . .

Rejection of the credit may have meant a gamble. But its acceptance is nothing else. At least, the first course meant a gamble on independence while the second is a gamble on subordination. True, to see its chances in the gamble on independence, this country would have had to apply the lesson which Dr. Schacht taught the world in the inter-war period. *Fas est et ab hoste discere.* Dr. Schacht's lesson, well-known to every company liquidator, is universally valid and, moreover, *morally neutral.* It is nothing but a statement of facts. It reads in one sentence: "If you borrow *very large* sums, you, the debtor, are stronger than your creditor." That lesson can be applied dishonestly, as it was by the Nazis to ruin their creditors. But it can also be applied honestly, to negotiate a debtor's return to better fortune and enable him gradually to pay his debts in full. . . .

If the Washington Agreements fail, which in plain terms would mean a default on the credit, the political repercussions are likely to be far more serious than rejection without default could possibly have entailed. That would mean getting the worst of both worlds.

The risks of a default are indeed far more real than the chances of even a limited success of the Washington Agreements. By no conceivable stretch of the imagination does it become clear how this country could, in the short space of five years expand its exports from a present volume (January 1946) of forty per cent. of the 1936—1938 average to 175 per cent. of that volume. An agreement whose success, in substance, rests on this assumption, is not even a gamble for ordinary stakes, it is playing *va banque.*

All the privations and the whole austerity régime which the Loan, according to its defenders, was supposed to spare the country, will now have to be suffered, and more. But in addition, the default on essential clauses of the Washington agreements is, by now, a fact. And a British government must *unnecessarily* go cap in hand to Washington and beg to be released from an undertaking which, because of its economic masochism, should never have been signed.

Does anybody really believe that Britain would have "funked" the issue had

the Government told the country what was involved? Was it not crazy to base policy on empty rhetoric about "unsordid acts"? Since when does a great nation conduct its affairs on the assumption of *Tout ira bien, Madame la Marquise?* Does not experience show that there are no unsordid acts in either politics or economics and that, in a general way, policy must prepare for the worst and plan for the best?

III

In Britain's present misfortunes, one of the most heartening facts is the suspension of the convertibility provisions of the Loan Agreement (clauses 8 and 10,a) which have already been thrown overboard. This suspension marks the beginning of the end of the Loan Agreement in its original form. It is, indeed, an act unprovided for in the text, which in its clause 12 merely states that:

> Either Government shall be entitled to approach the other for a re-consideration of any of the provisions of this agreement, if in its opinion the prevailing conditions of international exchange justify such re-consideration with a view to agreeing upon modifications for the presentation to their respective Legislatures.

The unilateral suspension that has taken place, is not an "approach for reconsideration".* It is a *fait accompli* the irreversibility of which is not in doubt. It is a recognition of the fact that, in the words of the French legal saying, *A l'impossible, nul n'est tenu.* And whatever Washington may say or do, the non-discrimination clause of the Loan Agreement (clause 9) is equally as dead as the convertibility clause. No country has ever starved its population in peacetime for the sake of maintaining a principle, in this case the principle of non-discrimination as misinterpreted by the U.S.

But criticism, like charity, had better begin at home. In that respect, the U.S. is less to blame for having pursued a policy which, on a short-term view at least, must have appeared advantageous, than are both Mr. Churchill's Coalition and Mr. Attlee's Labour Government. The incomprehension of the U.S. was born out of short-sightedness; the incomprehension of Britain was born out of blindness to her vital interests and her own position.

IV

I have previously argued in these columns† that

> People who are short-sighted enough to prefer a small turnover with high, but fleeting profits over a short period, to a large turnover with lower, but lasting profits, may gain in the short run, but they will lose their gains—and deserve to lose them—

* I am aware that the Treasury has invoked clause 8 (ii) (b) to justify suspension of convertibility. But this clause provides that restrictions on convertibility may be maintained in exceptional cases, *after* consultation between the U.S.A. and the U.K. From Mr. Dalton's letter to Mr. Snyder, it is clear that the restrictions came first and the consultations afterwards.

† *Bretton Woods*, THE FORTNIGHTLY, October 1944.

several times over in the long run.

The moment approaches when the U.S. will, and not for the first time, make this experience. In continuing my argument, I wrote:

> Yet, the rest of the world cannot recover in a free-for-all fight in which it is, on a world-wide scale, in the same helpless position as is unorganized labour in its relations with an employer who holds a *de facto* monopoly of resources and employment. If these influences prevail in the United States and confront the world with an economic *diktat,* they will bring about the constitution of a single debtor, as opposed to a single creditor, front. Nobody can view with indifference the prospect of a policy that from economic, would lead to political, antagonism. But America's evident incomprehension of the world's and incidentally, its own, economic problems may produce this result. And one can imagine the Marxist battle-cry: "Proletarians of all countries, unite" yet to be shortened to "Proletarian countries, unite."

This forecast, too seems to get nearer fulfilment, even if the debtor front, has, for the time being, still the shape of a bread queue at the Paris Conference. In conditions of famine, bread queues have been known to revolt.

V

Despite Britain's present straits, her future is by no means hopeless. On the economic side, she has now recovered some measure of freedom. This process of recovery must be pursued and intensified, not because an "internationalist" policy is undesirable as such—the contrary is the case—but because it does not stand the slightest chance in the present-day world. *Si monumentum requiris, circumspice.* An internationalist policy is possible only when a certain degree of general prosperity prevails all over the world. But at the present time, such a policy is one of "give" for the debtor countries, of "take" for the creditor country. Recovery of economic independence must find its parallel in the political field. It is not Britain's task to pull America's chestnuts out of the fire. Do not trust Russia, by any means. But distrust America as much. For, in her conduct of great policy, one is worth a penny and the other two ha'pence. It *is* Britain's task to negotiate her "alliance potential" to her best advantage.

But it is also her task to maintain that potential, nay to increase it as much as possible. That means that Britain must learn again how to work—a thing the country, in its affluence, has not really done since the Victorian era, the war years excepted. There is no room for a five-day week among manual workers because there is no room for long week-ends, of the Friday-to-Tuesday golfing variety, among intellectual workers. *La semaine "anglaise"*—it is significant in itself that it should be so called in France—*a vécu.* If it has not, the country has. The case has been put, in terms which I could not attempt to better, by Mr. J. Middleton Murry in his article "The Moral Foundation of Democracy" (THE FORTNIGHTLY, September 1947). Not only brawn, but also brain must produce more. At present, they are fraternally united in fighting shy of work.

SWORDS INTO PLOUGHSHARES

By H. C. Dent

IN August 1939 that distinguished body, the British Association for the Advancement of Science, assembled for its Annual Meeting in the Royal Burgh of Dundee. But its sesssions had hardly begun before they were rudely interrupted by the strident clamour of war. Urgent summons that could not be denied decimated the ranks of speakers and audiences; it is recorded that at least one learned paper passed through four pairs of hands before its delivery could be concluded—to almost empty benches. As a result, the meeting quickly broke up, in "most admired disorder". It was not to re-assemble for eight years.

The war over, Dundee renewed its invitation. It was only fair that it should be accepted, that the first full gathering of the "B.A." since that hurried exodus should take place in the historic Scottish city which had witnessed it. So to Dundee the British Association came in August 1947. And, with a due sense of the fittingness of things, its Council had decided that, "to emphasize the positive contribution of science to human progress," the deliberations of the meeting should be focused on the theme of "Swords into Ploughshares."

It was, of course, clear that this could be no ordinary meeting. There was so much to be said, and—unhappily—so much of vital interest that could not be said. It is hardly an exaggeration to suggest that the Dundee meeting could not be other than unique. For though the British Association had had a previous experience of re-uniting after a world war, the circumstances in which it met in 1919 were fundamentally different from those in which it met in 1947. This year's President, Sir Henry Dale, put the point succinctly in his presidential address:

> We are faced now by the contrast between the parts played by science in the two world wars. In that from which we recently emerged, science, no longer a mere accessory, has moved right into the centre of the picture. The belligerent use of science has undergone a rapid transformation, turning it into a weapon and a combatant in itself, released from afar for the indiscriminating infliction of death and destruction, at rapidly growing ranges and on an ever increasing scale.

That passage underlines—if such underlining be needed—the crucial importance of the theme chosen for discussion at Dundee. What science can do in the way of "death and destruction" we have all been made painfully aware. Can it put out a comparable effort on behalf of "life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness"? If it be agreed that, of all bodies, the British Association

speaks for British science, and accepted that the choice of the theme " Swords into Ploughshares " implied a deliberate intention to attempt to answer that question, then the Dundee meeting of the Association could hardly be other than a landmark in world history—whatever answer might be given.

With that thought in mind, it is of more than ordinary interest to record that on the first day of the meeting Sir Henry Dale announced that whatever its scientific outcome might be, its numerical success was assured; and that on the day after it concluded he told a press conference that the meeting had been " a resounding success ". Nor did he make the latter statement as an expression of personal opinion; he had behind him the full support of his cabinet, as witness the resolution passed by the General Committee of the Association that:

> By common consent, the meeting in Dundee has been one of the happiest, most brilliant, and most fruitful of many within the recollection of those present.

That is what they thought of it at the centre. This article offers the observations—possibly presumptuous but certainly sincere—of one who occupied a privileged but peripheral position at Dundee, being at the meeting but not of it and consequently (I hope and believe) able to view it with detached and open mind.

Before examining the meeting itself, I feel that mention should be made of three incidental factors present which should be highly conducive to the success of any gathering. First, the weather was superb. Secondly, as the Scots themselves euphemistically put it, the food situation is undoubtedly " easier " north of the Border than south of it. Why this should be I do not know, for the rations are the same. Thirdly—and I mean this as the place of honour—Sir Henry Dale did not in the least exaggerate when he spoke of the " splendid act of generosity " of the Council and citizens of Dundee. From the Lord Provost to the caretakers of the buildings in which we met and the conductors of the trams and buses (on which we rode free), one and all laid themselves out to make our visit a happy one; and they succeeded. This applies equally to the hotel, hostel and boarding house keepers, and the private residents, " outwith " Dundee who so cheerfully and competently put us up—and put up with our haphazard comings and goings at all sorts of untimely hours. Perhaps a special word should be added here for St. Andrews, for it might almost be said that if the association met formally in Dundee it also met informally—into the early hours of the morning—in that exquisitely beautiful and supremely interesting university city.

And may I at this point, speaking as a member of that inquisitive and exacting fraternity " the press ", pay a very warm tribute to the cheerful efficiency of those, both professionals and amateurs, who were detailed to attend to our needs? Sir Henry Dale was good enough to say that the meeting had been most accurately and fully reported, with " a notable absence of *gaffes*." Without the devoted helpfulness of the P.R.O. and P.O. departments (despite the

shortage of telephones) it would have been far more difficult for us to achieve so successfully what was in truth a sufficiently arduous assignment.

And now, the scene set, *à nos moutons.* Can the president's claim that the 1947 meeting of the British Association was "a resounding success" be substantiated? Not even "the very noble effort" of Dundee and the surrounding districts in contributing over 1,700 local members to a total gathering of 3,236 justifies the epithet. Numbers alone are no criterion of success; they may even militate against it.

Professor Eva Taylor opened her presidential address to the geography section by recalling "the question derisively asked by the educated public about the Fellows of the Royal Society in the early years of their incorporation. 'And what have they done? What have they done?'" It is not unfair to apply this test to the members of the British Association meeting at Dundee. But before doing so, a preliminary and not unimportant question may be dealt with: "Who are they?"

It has recently been suggested in more than one quarter, so several members from more than one section informed me, that the British Association is declining in authority, that fewer and fewer of the leading scientists attend it, and more and more of them prefer to present their more important papers to other bodies or in other places. Speaking as a lay member of the general public I should say that an association which commands the allegiance of such eminent figures (I cite almost at random) as Sir Henry Dale, Sir Henry Tizard (next year's president), Sir Richard Gregory, Sir Edward Appleton, Sir Lawrence Bragg, Sir Alexander Fleming, Sir Robert Watson-Watt, and Professors J. D. Bernal, J. D. Cockcroft, D. H. Robertson, and S. Zuckerman—the list could be made double or treble as long and yet omit many top rank scientists—is as yet in little danger of speaking with other than the voice of highest authority.

By way of preface to an attempt to answer the question: "What have they done?" I would like to recall the purposes for which the British Association was founded in 1831, and to record that in his presidential address Sir Henry Dale declared that the original definition could not be improved upon to-day.

> To give a stronger impulse and a more systematic direction to scientific enquiry; to promote the intercourse of those who cultivate science in different parts of the British Empire with one another and with foreign philosophers;
>
> to obtain more general attention for the objects of Science and the removal of any disadvantages of a public kind which impede its progress.

To that definition should be added that:

> no technical qualification, nor any form of nomination or proposal, is necessary for acceptance as a Member or Associate. Admission is open to all who are interested in Science and in its relation to the well-being of mankind, and who are prepared to pay a subscription.

The most cursory glance at the statement of aims and the conditions of membership shows how wrong is the unfortunately widespread impression that the proceedings of a B.A. meeting consist entirely of the reading of

abstruse and erudite papers intelligible only to the initiate. Such papers are delivered; there were some this year, though probably fewer than in a normal year (owing largely, of course, to the wartime preoccupation of scientists of all grades with urgent practical problems of applied science), but anyone who saw the absorbed attention with which undergraduates and even schoolchildren —the Dundee schools were closed for the week of the meeting—listened to some of the more popular lectures this year would laugh to scorn the suggestion that a B.A. meeting is an exclusively 'highbrow' affair. Public information and propaganda—in the best sense of the term—are essential functions of the B.A.

"To obtain more general attention for the objects of science." Thanks largely to the press, I should say that the Dundee meeting succeeded in implementing this aim beyond all expectations. Day after day *The Times, The Scotsman, The Glasgow Herald* and other papers devoted three full columns or more (and how much that means to-day only a newspaperman can know) to the proceedings of the B.A. As a result, admirable summaries of the papers delivered to, at most, a few hundred people must have been read by hundreds of thousands and studied with eager interest by many thousands. A rich feast it was, too; Professor Cockcroft on the peace-time applications of nuclear fission, Sir Alexander Fleming on penicillin and other anti-biotics, Sir Edward Appleton on the scientific consequences of practical developments in radio and electronics, Professor D. H. Robertson on economic planning, Sir Robert Watson-Watt and a brilliant team on operational research, the president and an equally brilliant team on the education of the man of science, Dr. Kirtley F. Mather, of Harvard University—as guest speaker for the American Association for the Advancement of Science—on petroleum to-day and tomorrow.

So one might go on for another page or so. But this is a critique, not a catalogue, and at this point a different note must be sounded. We are to-day, all of us, sufficiently seized with the *importance* of science, in our daily life, in national and international affairs alike. There is no need for the B.A. to emphasize that. What we would like to be reassured about is the *objectives* of science, and even more the *intentions* of the scientists. In other words, what had the B.A. to say about "a more systematic direction to scientific inquiry"? Unhappily, its answer was much less clear than could have been desired; or rather, it proffered two answers which were divergent if not actually conflicting.

In his presidential address Sir Henry Dale, after the not over comforting assertions that "it is certain that the scientific activities of peace never witnessed anything like the intimate collaboration of British and American physicists and engineers which finally played so important a part in giving full effect to the triumph of science in the service of war," and that it would have taken decades of research at the peacetime rate to achieve the progress

made in six years of war, went on to suggest that, having profited by this and other valuable lessons taught by war:

> It may be of at least equal importance that we and the world should, with all rapidity and thoroughness, forget other lessons which ought to be discarded . . . I am concerned with the fact that the response to war's demands has led the majority of scientists of this country to devote nearly the whole of their thoughts and efforts, during six years or more, to practical problems presented to them for rapid solution.

Sir Henry's conclusion was:

> Does anyone doubt that, to enable science now to render its best service to mankind, we need to take a long-range view and to give our first care to the extension of fundamental knowledge, unconstrained by aim at any practical objective?

Apparently, quite a number of not undistinguished people *did* doubt it; and had no hesitation in saying so. So much so that a correspondent to *The New Statesman* wrote on September 6 that:

> This year's meeting at Dundee has revealed a division which may amount to schism between those who want scientific freedom without responsibility and those who insist that responsibility is the price of scientific freedom. It has been brought to a head by Professor Bernal's demand that the wartime scientists should be recalled to deal with the crisis by methods which were proven during the war. Sir Henry Dale . . . opposed this in his presidential address; he wanted scientists to get back to their labs and inveighed against the "conscription of science" and "totalitarian planning." He was answered by a formidable combination which included Sir Robert Watson-Watt, of radar fame, Professor Zuckerman, who as Tedder's scientific adviser was largely responsible for changing bombing strategy from "area bombing" to the precision targets which were decisive in the final stages of the war, and Bernal, who was the scientist behind Mountbatten in Combined Ops. At a public meeting on "Operational Research", Watson-Watt challenged "the Walled City of Ivory Towers" which shut out the cries of the world, and the advocates of planning detailed ways in which they could effectively help in the crisis.

Possibly the antagonism of these two schools of thought is not so absolute as might superficially appear, though as one who was present at both the presidential address and the operational research meeting I am compelled to admit that neither Sir Henry Dale nor Sir Robert Watson-Watt 'pulled his punches'. To the detached observer the immediate controversy—fundamental research or first-aid to the nation by applied research—seems both silly and unnecessary. Obviously, both are needed; and equally obviously there are some scientists particularly fitted to do the one, some to do the other. No doubt the committee to see what science can do to help the nation in the present crisis, which Professor Bernal persuaded the B.A. to set up, will quickly come to this conclusion.

But, as *The New Statesman* correspondent indicated, behind this topical (and easily settled) controversy lies the possibility of schism on quite fundamental matters. These all—to my mind—hinge upon the crucial question of the freedom of the scientist. Is this to be freedom without responsibility, or responsibility at the price of freedom? Many subsidiary questions emerge from this central one, of which two may be selected in illustration. If it is to be freedom without responsibility, what precautions may a democratic gov-

ernment legitimately take to prevent harmful exploitation of the results innocently achieved by scientists in the pursuit of pure knowledge? If, on the other hand, it is to be responsibility at the price of freedom, what are to be the limits of that responsibility; is it to be responsibility within the domain of science alone, or should it extend (as more than one address at Dundee tended to do) into the domain of politics?

The ultimate answers to these and cognate questions clearly lie in the realms of morality and ethics. Consequently, it was most fitting that the final meeting at Dundee should be concerned with the education of the man of science, and should be open to all the sections of the association. But alas! despite a platform of scintillating stars, the discussion did not get very far; for nobody could answer the question posed by the High Master of Manchester Grammar School: "What is education?" In his summing up Sir John Lennard-Jones made a gallant attempt, but could not get beyond a succession of "nots" and "may be's":

> It is not simply the acquisition of knowledge, the filling of the mind with facts, or even familiarity with a particular culture . . . . It may be more the method by which knowledge was acquired, the habits of thought and concentration engendered by study or discipline of the mind produced by long and severe mental application. Or again it may be the cultivation of personal aptitudes and abilities to enable a man to live a useful and satisfying life.

Sir Lawrence Bragg fell back on the old (but only partly true) saying that education is what remains after what has been learned has been forgotten; and Sir Henry Dale declared that "education should provide not only a training adequate for the technical needs of the man of science in his profession, but should fit him also for his part as a good citizen and an acceptable member of a cultured community"—which is admirable (so far as it goes) if no one is troublesome enough to ask for definitions of "a good citizen" and "an acceptable member of a cultured community." But education should provide more than this. Middleton Murry put the point in a single sentence in his article in the September number of THE FORTNIGHTLY:

> Obedience to the moral law is the condition of human freedom; and human freedom cannot rationally be conceived save as obedience to the moral law.

Until that lesson is incorporated into the education of the scientist all else will be in vain.

Summing up, I would say that the Dundee meeting of the British Association offered an interesting and valuable survey of the progress of science during the war; indicated ways in which that progress is being turned to peaceful ends; pointed to lessons learned and dangers to be avoided; provided a useful opportunity for informal contacts between British and foreign scientists; aroused much local and considerable national interest in the achievements and possibilities of science; and, above all, brought out into the open fundamental problems which must be faced and solved if civilization is to survive. That last service alone amply justifies the meeting.

THE FARMER'S EFFORT: CAN HE MAKE IT?

By Doreen Wallace

WE are to produce a hundred million pounds' worth more food and feeding-stuffs from the land: this goal to be attained by 1952.

It sounds terrific: but let us look at some figures relating to the past few years. Taking a norm of 100 as our pre-war production of wheat, we reached in wartime a peak of 209; we are now asked to reach only 160. If we so greatly exceeded this figure in wartime, we can attain it now without over-strain. True, this year's wheat figure, compared to the norm, is only 119; the drop is partly accounted for by the reversion of marginal land to its former state, partly also by too hasty sowing down of reasonably good land to grass to save labour; there is to-day more grassland than can be fed down by the existing stock in a normal season.

The targets for oats, potatoes and sugar-beet are likewise lower than in the peak year of war. Only barley is higher. I take it that in aiming at a very large production of barley, the Government is thinking less of beer than of providing barley meal for a greatly increasing pig population.

The main arable crops, then, should offer no insuperable difficulty. We had no more labour during the war than we have now (though labour is still a problem, which I shall discuss in due course) and if we greatly overshot the present target then, we can surely reach it now.

When we come to stock, the picture is rather different. Milk, eggs and beef are to be greatly above the pre-war norm; mutton and pigs are not expected to reach the norm, but must show a great improvement upon present production. There was no wartime peak in these things, to give us guidance for the new effort, but instead a wartime zero: the only product which increased was milk, and this is to increase still more. As to the others, we are starting practically from wartime rock bottom. For instance, compared to the pre-war norm of 100, our this year's output of pigmeat is only thirty-two; we are to aim at ninety-two, assisted by the increased acreage of barley.

In beef production, we are to achieve a ten per cent increase over pre-war, assisted by whatever fodder crops we have room to grow at home and by a promised import of cattle-food. But we are not expected to bring our sheep population up to pre-war numbers; indeed the figure is twenty-three per cent. lower. I think the reasons for this are several. First, after last winter's disasters to hill flocks it would be pretty hopeless to expect a quick and large increase; secondly, Australia and New Zealand are glad to supply mutton and

wool *ad lib.*, and since they are 'sterling' countries, it is less needful to save money on these imports; and thirdly, in arable districts sheep and cows cannot be run on the same farm, if there is to be a satisfactory acreage left over for corn-growing, because of the large amount of winter feed they both require: and of the two, the cows are more greatly needed.

I have always held a brief for arable sheep; so do many other knowledgeable farmers. Sheep, besides producing mutton and wool, are dual-purpose land improvers when kept in folds on arable land. The root crops grown for their consumption are great cleaners, since they have to be hoed between the rows and between the plants: and when the sheep come to graze upon them *in situ*, they consolidate the surface and muck it without labour costs. I judge that the sheep target for 1952 is meant to encourage only hill and marginal flocks, and I am sorry, but I do see the point of it, in this time of stress.

The incentive to the farmer to increase his production of both crops and stock is a set of fixed prices designed to show him a profit, besides an acreage payment on some crops to induce him to embark on new things, and a larger grant for ploughing up. As far as one can judge at present, these payments are adequate. They cover the new increase in the workers' wage and leave something over for the farmer's pocket. This is wise, for unless or until we are collectivized *à la Russe*, profit is the only motive for enterprise: our labourers themselves demonstrate this, working far harder at piece-work than at day-work. But I cannot foretell just how long the proposed prices will prove adequate. If retail food prices go up, town wages will go up; consequently town workers' products, boots, clothes, processed foods, etc., will go up—and then the farm-worker's wages will go up again, and the farmer will temporarily be left without incentive to employ labour and increase production. This has happened a good many times both during and since the war, and I see no reason why it should not happen again. Adjustments in an upward direction are constantly being made: and the people who suffer are the fixed-income group, professional men and pensioners, who cannot demand higher wages.

It looks as though the farmer is sitting pretty for about ten years to come. When he needs further incentives, he will get them; for as long as this country is short of food and dollars, he is just about the most important person in it. But money is not all; he has other problems to face.

I think the problem of machinery has been over-stressed. There is more agricultural machinery in the country now than ever before. The Minister of Agriculture has said that some farm-machines are to be held back from export, for use at home. That is all to the good, provided they do not go to farmers who already have more than enough because they have chosen that method of disguising their profits. I know of one farm of 300 acres (admittedly it is run by a War Agricultural Committee, but that does not make the story any prettier) where there are seven tractors, of different types and sizes; I am

surprised that there isn't one to wheel the baby out in. Any machinery which is held back from export should be most carefully allocated. Some of the district machinery pools, even, from which the smaller farmers may hire such machines as they cannot economically buy, are overstocked.

What is needed in this department is the production of spare parts, so that existing machines can be kept in use. And we want many more of the lesser and commoner implements, such as ploughshares, hoes and forks. I am glad to see that fencing-wire is to be put on the farm-priority list, and I hope wire-netting will come under this head, for on light land the rabbit consumes far too much human food and cannot be exterminated by the much advertised gassing method.

Another kind of machinery which has not been mentioned, as far as I know, by any responsible person, but which should certainly be included among essential farm machines, is the motor-car, utility brake, van or truck. Some of these ought to be held back from export and earmarked for farmers. The present home allocation of new cars is ridiculous: it is upon the basis of pre-war usage, with the result that London and the great towns, well supplied with trains, Undergrounds, trams and buses, get nearly all the new cars, while the farmer "puts his name down" and waits two years or more, meanwhile paying through the nose for a series of second-hand wrecks because he has big distances to cover and must save time somehow.

Admitting, then, that there is probably plenty of farm machinery in the country if it were rightly distributed (while requiring some additions in the way of spare parts and means of transport) we next need somewhere to keep these things. The general condition of farm buildings is quite deplorable. This is a major problem, for it concerns not only the proper shelter for valuable machines, but also the housing of stock.

Before the war, the majority of landlords and owner-farmers were too poor to maintain buildings in good order. The only farm premises, broadly speaking, which have been kept consistently in good repair are cow-houses, because since the advent of the Milk Marketing Board, milk has been encouraged and is profitable; and some of these, even, would be rather a shock to milk drinkers. Throughout the war, there was no stock-keeping to speak of, so cattle-sheds were allowed to fall down and the walls of the yards to crumble, not through poverty, in wartime, but because materials and labour were hard to come by. Cart sheds, too, fell into disrepair, and all the farm gear lay out in the open, exposed to rain and sun, the ironwork rusting and the woodwork splitting. Only in rare instances do the numbers of farm machines, though mostly in working order, look like anything but scrap-iron. Building repairs seem to be rather out of favour nowadays, but unless men and materials are released for this purpose, there cannot be a great increase of cattle in arable districts, or pigs anywhere, and there must be a further deterioration of machinery.

In districts which are so ill-adapted to arable cultivation that they have

escaped the plough-up, cattle are grazed in the open, so the buildings question is less acute, but the cattle are usually sold when half grown, to be fattened elsewhere in yards. In those parts where formerly bullocks could be fully fattened on grass—the Midlands and the grazing west—arable land has usurped much of the grass, and must continue to do so because of the corn programme; so here, as well as in the old arable country to the east where stall fed cattle are traditional, farm buildings must assume priority if the beef programme is to materialize. And pigs must have buildings to live in, wherever they are kept; the breeding sow must have a warm dry place in which to farrow, the store pig a reasonably sheltered yard in which to fatten. Unless the congeries of Ministers responsible for building will turn their attention to farm buildings, the small farmer, who embarked on the war years in a state of pitiful poverty, will be unable to take his part in the drive for meat production.

Judging from press comment by both farmers and journalists, the manpower problem is going to be the biggest worry in the carrying out of the new plan. Here, again, in my opinion, the fuss is too loud and too general. In some parts the shortage is acute, but not in all. The real difficulty is going to arise over the stock-keeping part of the programme, not the arable; that is to say the specialist workers, though fewer in number than the general labourers, are going to be far harder to find.

The Midlands, which used to be grass but are now arable, have the worst labour problem. Of old they have lacked farm cottages and little farming villages—they have not needed them. The countryside was grass, with good farmhouses, and the working population was industrial, concentrated in towns. At the start of the wartime plough-up, these districts were in desperate straits for implements and labour: six farms could not boast one plough between them, or any person who could use a plough. They received special attention in the shape of machinery distribution, and Women's Land Army and prisoner labour, and they will have to go on receiving it. It is here that the need for labour camps of Displaced Persons is greatest; here and in such parts of the one-time dairying West as have compulsorily turned to arable.

In the Eastern corn-growing lands, which were always "mixed arable" (corn and roots on the land, cattle and pigs in yards), labour shortage is at least in part the farmers' own fault. The recent availability of prisoner labour has demoralized many of them. At busy seasons such as chopping-out time for sugar-beet, harvest, and lifting time for potatoes and sugar-beet, they have simply telephoned the nearest P.O.W. camp for large gangs of men, and the work has been done quickly with no worry. Between-times these farmers have employed almost nobody. They have taken no pains to retain local labour or recruit local boys. They seem to have forgotten that long before there were any prisoners, they managed to be arable farmers. The increase of land under plough in these parts is not large, for there was never much

land unploughed. With the return of men from the army (and, contrary to some suppositions, they do come back to the farms) and the growing up of village boys, and the increase in labour-saving machinery, there should be no great shortage of field labour here, if the farmers will only pull themselves together and organize their farms as of old. The shortage will be felt in the case of specialized workers such as stockmen and pigmen. Little stock could be kept during the war, and anyway these jobs are not popular because of the Sunday work.

There is a perennial shortage of cowmen, for the same reason; that is nothing new, and will only be made a little worse by the new programme.

I am, then, optimistic about the labour supply for field work. We are promised D.P. workers, and our local lads will not disdain a basic wage of £4 10s., with house rent limited to 6s. On our own farm, we have done without prisoner labour for the past year, and can face our arable cultivations with confidence—provided that if our young men want to marry, there will be houses for them. This is the real crux of the general labour problem. Workers must have roofs, and their wives want water and light laid on. Let the authorities attend to this, and three parts of the arable difficulties will disappear.

There remains the special worker; he needs training. The field-worker does not; we have always taken boys fresh from school, and they have learnt by working with their elders. The skilled man, however, cannot pick up knowledge in this way. He may have done so in the past, but conditions have changed. In milk production, for instance, the old insanitary and uneconomic methods will not do. Not only must a cowman know about hygiene, he must also be capable of recording the cows' performances and grading their feed accordingly. This is a bit different from hoeing a field of 'tannups'. Men who look after cattle and pigs must at least be capable of weighing and measuring the food and looking out for ailments. I do not stress the highly skilled job of shepherding, because, as I see it, the only sheep to receive Governmental blessing are the hill flocks, where the farmer himself is the arch-shepherd: but if any arable farmer wants to keep a flock, he is going to need a trained man. And there is another class of specialist greatly needed since the wartime increase in machinery—the farm mechanic.

Now, how are these skilled men to be found? The high wages may tempt them (for they get far more than the basic wage) and the deterrent of the seven-day week can and must be provided against by some system of relief workers; but what can provide the skill?

The training scheme for ex-service men has not brought forth the desired results, largely because it has been misunderstood. It is not meant to train master-farmers, but farm workers: yet a great number of those who go in for it are ex-officers who have ideas far beyond a wage of £4 10s. a week (with piece-work and overtime extra) as labourers, or £6 and upwards in

specialist jobs. The training given under the scheme is much more down-to-earth than that provided in an agricultural college or under a private premium-paying arrangement; it is, indeed, the ideal training for the wage-earner—and surely the wages in prospect are not to be despised! Yet few 'working-class' ex-soldiers go in for it, though many wish to work on the land. I suppose they do not realize that training is needed, especially for the better-paid posts.

I would like to see the scheme extended to cover others besides ex-service men. Ordinary land workers could be urged to go into it, to acquire the special skills which would earn them higher wages. It has been found difficult to place trainees, naturally enough. The number of farmers fitted to be trainers is limited, and private accommodation for trainees is even more so. Could there not be a hostel in each market town, from which the trainees could bicycle out to their work? Alternatively but more expensively, a great increase in Farm Institutes is called for. But none of this is much use unless potential land workers, and existing lower-grade land workers, are convinced of the advantages of training. Propaganda, thus far, has been rather 'high-brow'. Few people read official pamphlets; farm workers are not among the few.

I am not very optimistic, then, about labour for the stock-keeping and milk side of the new programme. I think we shall attract the numbers, because of the very good wages (if we resolutely establish pools of relief workers to provide for reasonable days off) but I have doubts of the quality. Young countrymen have not had the chance to learn the work from their fathers, since much of the work was simply abandoned during the war, and if they will not submit to training, they are going to be nothing but a nuisance to their employers.

Still, the difficulties are not insurmountable, given a good line of propaganda. And it must be remembered that every year machines become more efficient, so that output per man is improved.

And now, supposing that we manage to get a sufficiency of workers, both skilled and unskilled, has the last word been said? Prices satisfactory, cottages and farm-buildings attended to, manpower enough: what more is required, to reach the appointed goal in 1952?

Work. I hate to have to say this, but the absentee habit is beginning to percolate through to the agricultural community. The reason is plain enough; there is more money in the pocket than can be spent on food, clothes, or household goods while these are so scarce, so it is spent on unauthorized holidays. Farming is not yet nearly so great an offender in this way as other industries, but the germ is there. And it is most evident at the top; I often wonder whether in other industries too it does not begin at the top. If the master, director or manager is known to take days off at the seaside and weeks off abroad, or to absent himself continually on flimsy excuses, it is small

wonder that the workers follow suit.

Then again, agriculture has always been particularly prone to go-slow tactics; the contrast in pace between day-work and piece-work is almost ludicrous to the outside observer. This does not begin at the top—it is a piece of simple cunning evolved, perhaps subconsciously, by simple minds. It is exasperating to the employer, since there are many farm operations which cannot be treated as piece-work, but he cannot do much about it, for the worker does not see the point of working harder in order to put money into the master's pocket. He does not see the point of working overtime to put money in the Government's pocket either; if overtime were exempted from income-tax, there would be an improvement in output. I imagine that the farm worker is not much different from other workers in having an outlook limited to his own point of view; people who not so long ago were living near the poverty line may perhaps be forgiven for not being remarkably patriotic and for being unable to understand high finance. Those who might have taught them, their Union leaders, have only very lately begun to mention the word ' work '. The outlook for food production might have been brighter if these people had been in the habit of combining their agitation for higher wages with some suggestion that the wages ought to be conscientiously earned. *Conscience* is perhaps the biggest need of all, in all sections of the farming industry, if the Four Year Plan is to succeed.

PUBLIC RELATIONS

By Newsman

THE historian of public relations, when he is appointed, will doubtless find the origins of "P.R." a suitable subject for a thesis. That the idea came from the United States is an undoubted fact. If it had not been, it would have been necessary to invent it. Preliminary research has suggested that the term was first used by John D. Rockefeller, who, having got himself a bad name for his severity in putting down strikes, employed a man named Ivy Lee to get him a better one. Other industrialists followed suit in America, not always for the same sort of reason, but because they were attracted by a form of publicity which, as an earlier student of the topic has said: "avoids the limitations of advertising on the one hand and the blatancy of direct propaganda on the other." In Britain the Post Office and the Empire Marketing Board, followed more gingerly by other less commercially-minded departments of Government, and by public utilities, adopted the notion. Meanwhile, in America, a divine afflatus had animated the profession, and public relations officers had become public relations "counsel", headed by "chief counsellors" whose oracular and increasingly expensive advice was sought by all and sundry.

Over here, big industrial concerns were likewise beginning to seek men of talent who would "express the firm's personality" and when the war came, public relations received a great fillip. The special effort of co-operation between people and government, the concentration of many national activities in State hands, the need to commend and to explain a great many complicated and hampering orders and regulations, all called for increases in the numbers of P.R.O's and for advances in their techniques. For the first time in Britain the recruits to public relations included many men and women already well-trained in journalism, advertising, publicity and display. Thanks principally, but not entirely, to their experience and skill, governmental public relations from about 1942 to the end of the war were successful in creating a climate of public opinion in which acceptance of restriction and shortage was cheerful and complete, and knowledge of the national effort in all its phases widely spread and appreciated. One thinks of J. H. Brebner in the News Room at the Ministry of Information, of J. L. Henderson at the Ministry of Supply, of the Crown Film Unit's magnificent documentaries, of Mischa Black's exhibitions and St. George Saunders's pamphlets. Unfortunately most of these people had jobs to go back to when peace came. Now, in the throes of a

crisis of equal magnitude, the Government and its satellite organizations have largely to rely on the services of political propagandists, rigid civil servants, or well-meaning bunglers with a pathetic belief in the " mystique " of " P.R.", while the publicists who by their very success from 1942-1945 had proved that no such thing exists, are for the most part employed by industry and commerce, with whom the Government is continually at loggerheads.

Let us examine more closely this " mystique " of public relations. It makes, to begin with, a determined effort to dissociate itself from that vulgar thing, publicity. Publicity is for the masses, the common herd. " P.R." on the other hand, addresses itself to the educated minority who are presumed to form opinion and direct it. The P.R.O. of a gigantic industrial combine actually went so far at a conference of his fellows this summer as to declare: " X is such a complicated organization that it is almost impossible to simplify a message sufficiently to be understood by the ' man in the street ', and yet not to oversimplify it so that it makes no sense." This is a counsel of despair. Most P.R.O's are more sanguine. They believe that by appearing to take the public into their confidence, they can make the ways of their department or firm seem reasonable and its actions public-spirited.

It is possible to employ any one or all of a number of methods. Charm in private correspondence is one. A light, deprecatory touch in the " Letters to the Editor " column is another. To appear on the leader page of *The Times* wins a first prize. A veteran P.R.O. once wrote a note of congratulation to a newcomer who had broken into this citadel for the first time. " Now ", he said, " you have won your spurs! " Accessibility to interviewers is another important method. Of course, they seldom stay long, or come away with anything. But it is the principle—of admission to the presence—that matters. Public-speaking is another asset. Applicants for posts may even be called upon for a gay little impromptu by the appointments' board. Service on public committees is considered a good way of demonstrating the firm's public spirit. Then there are books and magazines to be published, films produced and exhibitions held. These can, if the P.R.O. has the measure of his employers, bear little or no relation to the firm's activities or products. Describing a magazine published by his firm, a senior P.R.O. speaks of the editorial board of " professors from Oxford, Cambridge and London Universities and the Astronomer Royal, about as authoritative a team as you could get together; all these men are zealous to see that nothing which could by any stretch of imagination be called an advertisement for X gets past them." What a delightful picture that conjures up of sub-editing in academic circles! Why, then, does X print the magazine? Because " the fact that they agree to serve is evidence that they are impressed with what X is doing and consequently will be able to relay their impressions to others." Truly, it may be said of your well-equipped public relations officer that he can put an ethical gloss on a sales campaign, and that through thick and thin he will

promote Matthew Arnold's gospel of "sweetness and light". It might also be said, unkindly, that he displays all the contortions of the sibyl, without the inspiration.

Because, on the whole, public relations are not being tackled in the right way it does not mean that there is no need for them in a democratic society seeking a compromise between the unplanned and the totally planned. Our society is becoming increasingly technological and scientific and there is need for information and publicity services, both in Government, whether central or local, and in industry. The latter may too easily seem remote even from the people whom it employs, and even more easily still from the community at large. The projection of our industries, whether nationalized or not, in simple, readily understandable terms, its dramatization through graph and picture and story are not merely worth while, they are essential if the national economy is not to founder on apathy. Tom Harrisson of *Mass-Observation* recently pointed out that many of the words in the popular version of the White Paper on the economic situation were unintelligible to the bulk of the population at which Mr. Attlee said it was aimed. And so half the population has started again its study of the back-page mathematicians and its filling in of the pools, while at the next county council elections, many will be returned by under ten per cent. of the electors. The "informed tenth" is not enough. Nor is it enough to be "vocal to the wise" for, as Pindar went on, 2,500 years ago, "the crowd, they need interpreters."

If White Papers are not enough, neither is Hansard. Exhibitions and pamphlets and films may do a good publicity job for industry, but government, touching the lives of the people at more points almost every day, government, with its vast, complex machinery and enormous increase of power, must rely, for its explanations, to a great extent on the press. In principle, and in practice, there has been, in the last two generations, considerable progress, which accelerated during the last ten years to an astonishing degree, in the relations of press and government. J. A. Spender, speaking to the Imperial Press Conference in 1939, said:

> When I first came on the scene, those relations were irregular and capricious, and both sides pretended that they did not exist. How much of a pretence that was may be seen from the numerous memoirs in which Victorian statesmen are revealed in intimate touch with editors and journalists and endeavouring to use newspapers, sometimes for their private and sometimes for public purposes. The rigid virtue which is sometimes attributed to the statesmen of former times is mostly a myth. It has always been highly improbable that members of a Government would keep their hands off their principal means of communicating with the public and influencing opinion. They never have, but there has generally been a flavour of the illicit in their relations with newspapers. In spite of the much better and fuller information now given out by the departments this state persists, and leads to a reserve on both sides which might, I think, be broken down with advantage to both in these times.

A great deal of that reserve was broken down by the war, but despite the fortnightly press conference on economic affairs now taken by Mr. Morrison

and the weekly one on food by Mr. Strachey, relations between the Government and the press have not been so hostile for many years. And that is not only because a Socialist Government is in power and most of the newspapers are capitalist-owned.

It is only fair to the press to state that it has been antagonized not by the existence of official sources of information and news, but by the attempt to erect " public relations " into a system, and by the methods, which have been described above, employed by too many P.R.O's. Some editors feel that by whatever name they are called, these practitioners in public relations are equally offensive, and constitute a dangerous restraint on newspaper enterprise. They see the newspapers exploited for personal or political prestige; they see official errors glossed over, official incompetence shielded. They would prefer to go back to the old days of independent access and inquiry. Other editors, less antagonistic, object nevertheless to the spoonfeeding of reporters and the standardization of " hand-outs ". There is something to be said on the other side. The average reporter is still not a fully educated man. He may be sent to cover a highly specialized subject of which he is entirely ignorant or which he is incapable of assimilating at all intelligently. Hence the growth of specialist groups, of industrial and agricultural correspondents, for instance, who were welcome to the ministries because they grew increasingly knowledgable, and could be given confidential background information enabling them to write with authority. Recently, however, editors have awakened to the danger that a group loyalty may supersede loyalty to the paper and exclusive information become almost unobtainable. Since the Empire Press Union at its conference in London last year passed a motion strongly disapproving of the group system, it has declined in importance.

Apart from ignorant reporters, there are ignorant inquiries, to which even an expert correspondent may be condemned by his news-editor in pursuit of a ' light ' or a ' human ' story. The demand for such stories does not seem to diminish with smaller papers. Often the disorganization of other work involved in answering such inquiries is altogether out of proportion to their value, and the information officer may be justifiably excused an almost permanent sense of exasperation at the triviality of news standards.

It may be of interest to those who are not in regular communication with them to be given some impression of the more important or characteristic of these agencies of information as they exist to-day, of their virtues and shortcomings. The biggest disappointment in the Government field has been at the top where the warmly greeted appointment of Francis Williams two years ago to be Public Relations Adviser to the Prime Minister has proved to be no protection against steadily deteriorating relations between the Cabinet and the newspapers. Here was a man, it seemed, who had all the necessary qualifications. He had been a journalist, and a very distinguished one. He had been in the Ministry of Information and had done much to humanize it. He was

wit, thinker, and honest man. It is generally believed that he has been the victim of contending forces within the Cabinet itself and that on a number of important occasions his advice has been totally neglected. It was no great surprise when an announcement appeared in August that he would shortly be returning to literary life. The Government now pins its faith to S. C. Leslie, an Australian whom Morrison has been grooming for stardom. They were together during the war at the Ministry of Home Security. Since then Leslie has been with the Council of Industrial Design. Now he is one of Plowden's planners. Whether he will be able to design and produce for public consumption a blueprint of the economic future as neatly as he did the " Britain Can Make It Exhibition " remains to be seen. He is not gifted with the common touch, but should be incapable of such social and artistic solecisms as the John Bull with the Union Jack waistcoat who still adjures us from the hoardings that we must work or want.

It is to be hoped that he or somebody else will be able to co-ordinate Government information before the system is brought into contempt by any more blunders. The most spectacular of these, last year, involved one of the most popular and markedly successful of Government Public Relations men, Shelton Smith of the Ministry of Food. Believing ration cuts to be imminent, he organized a press conference, with full authority from his immediate superiors, to prepare the public for the return of Sir Ben Smith from America with the bad news. The whole story was subsequently denied by No. 10, and apologized for in the House by the Minister. A short while afterwards, it all came true. Nobody apologized to Shelton Smith. He is another Australian, volatile, energetic, an ex-journalist. His Ministry makes headlines every day, and Shelton Smith, unlike some of his colleagues who believe that happy is the Ministry which has no history, enjoys seeing it there.

At the Foreign Office publicity functions are divided between Ridsdale and Kirkpatrick. In charge of the News Division, his openhanded methods, at any rate with diplomatic correspondents, and understanding of press conditions have earned Ridsdale the respect not only of British newspapermen but of foreign correspondents also. Kirkpatrick, late of the European Division of the B.B.C., a professional diplomat of the old school, has not yet succeeded in imposing any real unity on an untidy foreign publicity machine which now includes the British Council as well as press and broadcasting attachés in most countries. The Council are usually the better housed abroad, and their officers have a more coherent idea of what they are supposed to be doing, but the senior appointments are still too often made from the regular navy and army, neither of which is the ideal training ground for acquiring cultural values or for making the acquaintance of the press.

It is a melancholy sight to observe the fighting services, having made a thoroughly good job of their public relations during the war, slipping back into their shells. Journalists, who were colleagues when they were war cor-

respondents, have now become outsiders again, to be treated courteously but distantly. Press officers once more count it one of their chief tasks to avoid giving information when asked for it. Even the Air Ministry, which appeared to have the best chance of surviving as a human institution in peacetime, is afflicted by this " reference to higher level " complex. Perhaps the C.I.G.S., who has his own ideas about publicity, will save the situation at the War Office. It is an Alice in Wonderland situation when news about the forces is harder to get because there is no war on and no security regulations to speak of.

Another and more surprising inadequacy in Government public relations is in the Commonwealth and Colonial Offices, where in spite of information office staffs which look good on paper, no consistent planning which would bring ' the red on the map ' to life is discernible. Whitehall seems to have abandoned the projection of the Commonwealth to High Commissioners. Colonial publicity is hand to mouth in conception and hangdog in execution. True, it is hard to make the Empire ' news ', as Lady Kemsley has found, but because the press is allergic it does not discharge the appropriate publicity men from the duty of telling, in other ways and through other media the still magnificent story of the prototype of a world community. A ha'porth of the enterprise and gaiety of the old Empire Marketing Board would be welcome to-day. Think of the vivid posters, the well-printed pamphlets, the exciting films! And where is Stephen Tallents, the man behind it all, to-day? In retirement, growing willows for cricket bats and cultivating his herb garden. If we cannot find new publicity men let us at least seek out the old. Cincinnatus may still come out of Kent.

Some good men of the younger generation have stayed in Government Public Relations or have drifted into it, Williams-Thompson of Supply, Matthew Crosse of National Insurance, and a newcomer, Alford of Civil Aviation. But for the most part neither the financial inducements nor the status of the job can compete with those of industry. If the publication of *Coal,* as unwanted and inept a journal as ever left the presses, is to be characteristic of the publicity of the new Government Corporations, there is a long trail of new disappointments ahead. " Corporations have no souls," said Coke, the lawyer, in the sixteenth century. Nor any sense, it seems. The Coal Board in its infancy sent round a junior official to the corporations already in existence, such as B.O.A.C., asking for tips on how to set up a public relations department. Doubtless B.O.A.C were able to provide an imposing list of advisers and controllers and officers. Newspapermen nowadays may easily find themselves entering the wrong stratum in the hierarchy. It is all very impressive, on paper, but these large staffs and large budgets still seem to some old hands to produce so much less than a man named Brenard, nicknamed the ' Baron ', who worked almost singlehanded for Imperial Airways before the amalgamation. The Post Office, too, which used to have such a good record with the press, misses its Brebner, now with London Transport. The efficiency of London Transport

publicity, Frank Pick's baby, still matches the efficiency of London Transport services, which are incomparably better than those of any other capital city.

The remainder of the field is too vast to be considered in detail but it is noteworthy that film correspondents are complaining that the P.R. set-up of the Rank organization, with its butler and its thick pile carpets, is now as hamstrung by red tape as the worst Government department, that the B.B.C., which used to have a public relations division, now has a publicity department with a narrower scope, that the political parties are served much as one would expect them to be, Labour solidly but without inspiration, Liberal gallantly but with little money, Conservative ebulliently but unevenly. The personality of the bunch is a genial Irishman, O'Brien, of the Conservative Central Office, but it was the Labour Government who put a baton in every P.R.O's knapsack when the publicity secretary of the Labour Party became a baron.

The increasing tendency of municipalities to appoint P.R.O's is one which on the face of it would seem admirable, for the lack of interest displayed in local government is already anti-social in its extent. But when some towns declare that they are planning their own publications on the ground that there is no space in the press for council matters, there is a clear threat to the local newspapers, which will naturally resist any usurpation of their function. In short, it seems inevitable that the improvement of public relations services will increase the pressures to which editors are exposed. The newspaperman says to the P.R.O. this: "By all means provide us with basic information. Give us easy access to your colleagues. Satisfy our legitimate curiosity. We can help you to prevent a "They" and "We" concept growing up about your organization in the mind of the public. You can help us in our job of making the world of the present day intelligible to the people. But, please, we want no special pleading, no glorification of individuals, and we do not want to be told that all your geese are swans."

NATURAL JUSTICE AND UNNATURAL PROCEDURE

By Norman Bentwich

THE Royal Prerogative to hear an appeal from any court within the British orbit is one of the foundations of British justice. The appeal lies from a judgment, order or decree given by a British tribunal outside the United Kingdom to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, which advises the King as the fountain of justice for all his subjects. It lies in criminal as well as in civil cases. But the right is subject in criminal matters to certain restrictions that were declared eighty years ago in a leading case which came from New South Wales. There it was said: " It seems undeniable that in all cases, criminal as well as civil, arising in places from which appeals lie, it is the inherent prerogative and, on all proper occasions, the duty of the Queen in Council to exercise an appellate jurisdiction with a view not only to ensure, as far as may be, the due administration of justice in the individual case, but also to preserve the due course of procedure generally. The interest of the Crown is at least as great in this respect in criminal as in civil cases; but the exercise of the Prerogative is to be regulated by a consideration of circumstances and consequences. The interference by Her Majesty in Council in criminal cases is likely in so many instances to lead to mischief and inconvenience that in these cases the Crown would be very slow to entertain an application by its officers on behalf of itself or by individuals. The instances of such appeals being entertained are so far rare. When, however, suggestions, if true, raise questions of great and general importance, and also when, if true, they show the due and orderly administration of the law interrupted or diverted into a new course, and also when there is no other means of preventing this consequence, it would be proper for the Crown to entertain an appeal if referred to it for its decision."

In a criminal case, then, the appeal to the Privy Council can only be brought after a petition for leave has been heard and granted. The principles on which the Judicial Committee grant leave were laid down thirty years after the declaration quoted above: " They must be satisfied that there is some clear departure from the requirements of justice, and it is shown that, by a disregard of the forms of legal process, or by some violation of the principles of natural justice, or otherwise, substantial and grave injustice has been done." A year ago the Judicial Committee took the opportunity, in dismissing applications for leave to appeal from judgments of an Indian High Court, to re-state those principles with some amplification: " The Judicial Committee was not a revis-

ing court of criminal appeal. It was not prepared to re-try a criminal case, and did not concern itself with the weight of evidence or the conflict of evidence, or with inferences drawn from evidence . . . . Neither was it concerned to review the exercise by the previous tribunal of its discretion as to permitting cross-examination of a hostile witness or in awarding punishments. They could not be asked to review the facts of a criminal case or set aside conclusions of fact at which the Tribunal had arrived. The Committee would only interfere where there had been an infringement of the essential principles of justice."

Two recent examples will illustrate their action—where a death sentence was passed in the Somaliland Protectorate, and the accused was deprived of the chance of having an advocate to prepare and conduct the appeal in the Court of Appeal, because the Court refused to adjourn so as to give time to Counsel to arrive, the Committee ordered the appeal to be restored for hearing. When an African had been convicted of murder and sentenced to death, but the court in the colony failed to put to the jury the question whether there was sufficient provocation to reduce the murder charge to manslaughter, the Committee held that the failure constituted a failure of justice, and the appeal was granted.

This year the exercise of the Royal Prerogative in criminal cases has been called into question because of the extraordinary use of the right of appeal in two parts of the Empire, the Gold Coast of Africa and Palestine. In both cases persons were sentenced to death; and the issue was whether the Prerogative should be exercised to commute the sentence. In both cases a section of public opinion was deeply stirred; but while in Africa it was stirred against the commutation, in Palestine it was frantically anxious that the death sentence should not be executed. The Secretary of State for the Colonies was attacked in Parliament in both cases: but for opposite reasons. He was charged with weakness because he would not order the Governor of the Gold Coast to commute the death sentence. He was charged with giving way to threats in Palestine, because he allowed the execution of a terrorist to be postponed pending the application to the Privy Council.

The Judicial Committee of the Privy Council is not directly concerned with the exercise of the Prerogative of Mercy. That is expressly delegated to the governor or High Commissioner of each colony, protectorate or mandated territory by the constitution. And the manner of exercise of the Prerogative is expressly laid down in the royal instructions to the governor, which require him to consult his executive council, but at the same time to act on his own judgment even if that does not agree with the advice of his council. A residuary power of pardon remains with His Majesty after the governor has made his decision; and in the exercise of that ultimate right, the Colonial Secretary is the adviser of the King, just as the Home Secretary is the adviser in the exercise of the power of pardon for cases arising in the United Kingdom.

A long tradition has established that the advice to use the Royal Grace is given only where there appears to have been a miscarriage of justice. For the application of that advice the minister is responsible to Parliament. But the colonial governor's exercise of his delegated prerogative is not a matter which can be discussed in Parliament. That appears to be the constitutional position.

In order to understand the excitement and emotion aroused over the two recent cases, and the novel problems which they provoked, it is necessary to summarize the main facts. Eight men, two of them sons of a ruling chief, were tried in 1944 by a judge and African jury in the Gold Coast, for the ritual murder of another chief, and sentenced to death. An appeal to the West African Court of Appeal was dismissed; and then application was made to the Privy Council. In the Palestine case the condemned man was tried by a military court under emergency regulations, convicted of participation in a terrorist attack on a police post, and sentenced to death. He refused to plead, but mention was made in the judgment of his good war service in the British Forces. There was no appeal to a higher court; and the General Officer Commanding, who by the same emergency regulations was vested with the power of confirmation or commutation, normally exercised by the High Commissioner, confirmed the sentence.

What was novel was the ingenious use of ancient writs, designed to protect the subject against oppressive action by the executive, so as to gain time and avoid a sentence passed in one instance by the civil court, in the other by the military court. In the African case an application to the Judicial Committee for leave to appeal was dragged out for half a year. The application was refused, because the Committee found that there had been no violation of natural justice in the conduct of the case. Acting on the principle that, while there is delay there is hope, the lawyers for the condemned men then appealed to the court of the colony for a writ of *Certiorari* questioning the jurisdiction. The application was immediately rejected by the Supreme Court of the colony; but their judgment gave the opportunity to turn again to the Privy Council with a fresh application for leave to appeal. The result, as was to be expected, was again abortive. But another effort was made with another prerogative writ, of error, which requires the consent, or Fiat, of the Attorney General. The writ was abolished in England in 1907, when the Court of Criminal Appeal was instituted; but was still available under the Common Law in certain colonies. When the Colonial Attorney General refused his consent, yet another writ was brought into service. Application was made for an order of *Mandamus* to require him to give his authority. On refusal of that application, a third petition was brought to the Privy Council, and dismissed.

By this time nearly two years had passed since the original trial. Failure did not damp the ardour of the lawyers for the prisoners. Their next move

was extra-legal and parliamentary. The Governor of the colony was informed that a memorial of British Members of Parliament would be presented to His Majesty for the exercise by him of the residual Prerogative of Pardon. In view of that intimation the Governor felt bound to grant a respite of the death sentence. After more delay the memorial was presented, and according to the constitutional convention, the Secretary of State for the Colonies was called on to advise. He saw no reason for interference by His Majesty with the Governor's discretion; and once again the execution, thrice postponed, was fixed. The rejection of the memorial did not silence the Members of Parliament. Question was raised in the House, and the adjournment moved, in order, if possible, to force revision of the sentence by the Governor himself. That was the occasion of the attack on the Colonial Secretary who, to meet the storm, addressed a request to the Governor for reconsideration. The Governor adhered to his previous decision.

Once more, on the very day when the postponed sentence was to be carried out, application was made in the Court of Accra for a writ of Habeas Corpus. The order to show cause was discharged immediately by the judge, and without more ado three of the condemned men were hanged. The lawyer, however, had time to give notice of the intention to lodge another petition for leave to appeal from this order to the King in Council. Faced with the notice, the Governor once more suspended execution of the sentence of the survivors; and after further questions in Parliament, announced that he had decided to commute the penalty to life imprisonment. He did so reluctantly and against the advice of his Executive Council which included African members. Public opinion in the colony favoured the law taking its course to the appointed end, and resented the effort to avert it by deliberate tactics of delay. But the motive of sparing the convicted men the agony of twice awaiting the gallows prevailed.

The condemned man in Palestine would not appeal because he repudiated the jurisdiction of the British court. Members of his family from America, however, were moved by the Jewish community to intervene and to apply for a writ of prohibition, first to the Palestine court, and when it was rejected there, to the Privy Council. The Judicial Committee dismissed the petition on the preliminary point that the petitioner had no standing, because he could not be said to be personally affected by the rejection. Before further steps could be taken, the condemned man, and five other Jews who had been convicted by the military court, were hanged.

The gravity of the two cases is not restricted to local repercussions. It concerns the broad administration of criminal justice in the colonies and overseas dependencies, at least so far as capital sentences are concerned. In the light of these precedents it would seem possible, if no change is made in the law and practice, to secure by deliberate measures so protracted a delay between condemnation and final decision that it would offend the sense of humanity

to let the law take its course. It would mean, indeed, one law for the rich, and another law for the poor man convicted of murder in a colony, since the recourse to the Privy Council must involve considerable costs.

It is probable that the Privy Council in future will be called on to give its principal attention to civil and criminal appeals from the colonies. The Dominion of Canada looks like following the example of Eire in abolishing altogether appeals to His Majesty in Council. It has already done so with regard to criminal appeals; and a bill was introduced during the war into the Dominion Parliament to make the appellate jurisdiction of the Supreme Court of Canada exclusive and ultimate. The Privy Council themselves have held that, in view of the Statute of Westminster, the Canadian Parliament has authority, if it wishes, to enact the bill. The independent dominions of India and Pakistan, too, may at any time introduce legislation to reduce, if not to rescind altogether, the right of appeal to the King Emperor in Council. And for many years Indian appeals have formed far the larger part of the work of the Judicial Committee. The Australian Commonwealth and the South-African Union have already legislated to reduce appeals. The main function then of the Council in its judicial capacity may be more and more to assure even justice to the sixty million subjects of the British Crown outside the Dominions, who belong to all races and creeds. But if it is to be the guardian of natural justice between man and man, it must not be the butt of unnatural procedure. Lord Simon, writing with the authority of an ex-Lord Chancellor, has suggested that, in order to prevent repetition of the misspent ingenuity of legal advisers for condemned men, it should be laid down that a petition for leave to appeal must contain all the grounds relied on, so that, if it is dismissed, the law will promptly take its course. The Colonial Secretary, too, made a statement in Parliament, pointing out that the responsibility for postponing a death sentence lay entirely with the governor. An application for leave to appeal to the Privy Council was not a barrier against carrying out the sentence; and if the governor came to the conclusion that it was without real foundation, he should not allow the fact that the application was pending to affect his judgment in ordering execution.

The value of the Supreme tribunal in the Empire, manned by the highest judicial authorities, in maintaining standards of justice, particularly in criminal matters, cannot be over-estimated. That service, however, may be impaired if, after the Judicial Committee has considered a petition, and declined it because no case of miscarriage was made out, it can be repeatedly approached in the same cause by applications to appeal against orders of the colonial courts discharging exceptional writs. The principle of *Res Judicata* may be applied to secure finality in confirming a conviction as well as in not disturbing an acquittal. The residue of the Royal Prerogative, which gives an ultimate opportunity to extend the grace of pardon, is a sufficient guarantee that, if judicial error is discovered after the legal provision has been exhausted, the King's mercy will correct it.

CHINA BETWEEN ZEAL AND BIGOTRY

By Tony Gibson

IT is easy to dismiss the Chinese student as someone like his opposite number in Europe or America, rather fond of political agitation and prone to large and noisy demonstrations in which flags are waved and slogans shouted, with little result. Alternatively, one may think of him as a poor, shabby devotee of learning who plies his brush by a lamp of peanut oil and wears out his eyes in the night hours. Both pictures are, in part at least, true. But there is another factor in China which brings the student movement into the limelight and makes what elsewhere would be the transient excitements of hot headed youth a major factor in the destiny of the nation.

China has always venerated her teachers and made the pursuit of learning a vocation worthy of the respect of even the highest official. The educated class has formed so tiny yet so essential a part of the vast population that the group has possessed, potentially at least, a power out of all proportion to its size. Until recently student activity was unco-ordinated and when the Government were from time to time criticized by the student groups, it was possible to repress this criticism on the spot without danger of the contagion spreading. But in the last six months there has been a significant change. Living through the tragedy of the war with Japan into the tragedy of the present Chinese Civil War has brought to Chinese students a new stature, a new sense of self-control and of citizenship. Their poverty has always had latent in it a sense of community with the under-privileged of the nation. Their student vocation rests upon a common schooling, and a common cultural inheritance. The old classical tradition has always insisted upon the virtues of moderation and compromise. These are now bearing fruit in a national student movement which has taken its stand in opposition to the Civil War and, in spite of the intrigues of *agents provocateurs,* has resolutely refused to be identified with either of the contending parties in that war. The movement began with agitation for the betterment of student conditions, which were adversely affected by the war and the inflation which it has brought. But these grievances have been the occasions, not the underlying motives, of protest. It is apparent that it is a sense of community, and of nationhood, which are actuating the students. It is this which, for the first time for more than two decades, has made them a power which the Government cannot afford to disregard.

During April and May demonstrations many thousands strong were held

by students in most of the university cities. These culminated on May 18 in a huge movement of student protest all over China. The demonstrators demanded that the Government which had called the People's Political Council to meet on May 20 should initiate peace negotiations with the communists. Two or three of the more independent newspapers dared to support and publicize these demonstrations. The Government vacillated between attempts to repress the students. They offered to release the ring-leaders who had been arrested and in some cases already sentenced, if the students would stop their agitation. But it was too late to buy silence. On May 20, nineteen members of the Kuomintang dared to table a resolution in favour of peace negotiations, and they succeeded in carrying the People's Political Council with them.

Since that date the Government, recognizing the challenge which this unorganized coalition of moderates and liberals already constitutes, have evidently decided to smash opposition while there is still time. Publication of the independent newspapers has been suspended; journalists have been arrested; universities have been surrounded by troops and barbed-wire barricades, and plain clothes police and members of the Government's semi-fascist youth organization have attempted to intimidate opposition by beatings up and by secret arrests. But the opposition continues. The entire faculty staff of the famous Yen Ching University in Peiping have signed a manifesto in favour of peace and condemning the Government attacks on civil liberties. This manifesto is circulating in important cities all over China, and in spite of the implicit dangers many are daring to add their signatures.

The writer was present recently at a series of student discussions in Shanghai on the function of the universities in the salvaging of China. One student summed up the feelings of many when he said in halting English: "The most zealous revolutionaries have ended up the most bigoted reactionaries. We must perfect our approach." He was feeling his way towards the basic idea of the Chinese philosophers. The problem with which the students are grappling is to combine zeal with moderation—the ancient doctrine of the golden mean. They are not alone in this mental evolution. Thousands of industrialists, professors, merchants and professional men have now reached the conviction that China's future lies in progress between the extremes of reaction and revolution.

For several years now the older men among the liberals and moderates have nursed their frustrated ideals in private. The 'managerial' class, the merchants, even the shop-keepers, are reaching the end of their patience. Less concerned with the principles at stake, commerce and industry are beginning to conclude that a change of government is a condition of recovery and is therefore becoming a business interest. But it has been left to the young hot-heads in the universities to make the first big move towards establishing

an alternative. The student has become the middle-man. He stands between the two extremes of Kuomintang and Communist. Within the last six months his public protest has defined the issue. His courage, born of desperation, has evoked the support of groups inside and outside politics, which had been too cautious to take the initiative on their own. The Government, harassed by economic and military failures, and stultified by political corruption, find themselves able to persecute, but too weak to suppress.

This is a far cry from the "Kunming Incident", at the end of 1945, which was the writer's first introduction to "Free China". Then Government plain clothes police forced an entrance to break up a student discussion of political affairs. This was long before such discussion had brought students to the point of political action. Students were beaten up or disappeared into concentration camps. Two liberal professors were killed. The "atmosphere of unhealthy criticism" was dissipated. But the event was nevertheless a landmark. In the eighteen months since then the economic, political and military barometer of the Chinese Nationalist Government has sunk steadily lower.

Economically, it has been a story of steady disintegration. The black market value of the Chinese dollar which at the end of 1945 stood at 1,000 to the American dollar stood in May 1945 at 40,000. The official rate was 12,000 but a Government official told me quite openly that it was customary to negotiate a compromise black market within Government offices at 25,000. It is an open secret that much of the exchange manipulation and purchase of gold bars which has accelerated the inflation has been undertaken by Government officials.

Politically, it may be said, the efforts of Government under Generalissimo Chiang Kai-Shek to set up an effective coalition with the Democratic League and the Young China Party have not succeeded. This is mainly because the Generalissimo has hung on to oligarchic power through the Nationalist Kuomintang Party. In defending the constitutional unity of China against communist separatism, his party has a good case. But he has not been prepared to broaden the basis of the régime in fact as well as on paper. Recently he invited members of the Democratic League and the Young China Party to accept minor cabinet posts. It is significant that the leaders of these two minority groups felt themselves strong enough to refuse co-operation.

From a military point of view the Nationalist offensive this spring reached its high point in the capture of Yenan, the communist capital. This was after it had been bloodlessly evacuated by the communists who carried with them their equipment, their industries and their supplies. After the jubilation was over the Government awakened to their predicament. Instead of seizing a prize, they had walked into a trap. They were forced to hold a long salient in barren and unproductive territory. Meanwhile the communists, whose base was in the fertile country of Shansi and Western Shantung, launched a

eries of crippling counter-offensives. The Generalissimo's credit has seldom been lower in recent years.

On the communist side, political power seems better consolidated and less corrupt than their opponents'. The régime is in many ways quite as totalitarian in its claims, but it is able to enforce these claims with greater thoroughness. This very ability is a symptom of the outstanding fact about the Chinese communists. However one-sided and even vicious their propaganda, it seems clear that their government is by the consent and their warfare with the active support, not merely the passive acquiescence, of the common people. This is a strange thing in China, where the profession of the soldier and the performance of the bureaucrat have seldom been much esteemed. The Communist Army officers and civil magistrates are living under the conditions and for the pay of private soldiers and peasant farmers. Within a period of a few months, I had interviews with the Nationalist Governor of a Province of 34,000,000 people, and the Communist Chairman of a Province of 20,000,000 people next door. The Governor, who was immaculately dressed in an expensive uniform with mirror-like riding boots, had a swarm of equerries who brought him everything from his digestive tablets to his State documents. The Chairman wore the tattered blue padded uniform of a soldier of the 8th Route Army, and if he wanted anything done he shouted. But he usually got it done. His associates behaved with him as simply and with as little ostentation as they used towards the sentry outside the gate. The Chinese communists appear to have been working on these lines for over twenty years, and it looks as though they will so continue.

The régime has concentrated upon the division of land among the small farmers, and the introduction of elementary adult education. Everything else is left over until the civil war is won, and to this end the farmers are organized into militia units, the wall newspapers carry the Party line into every hamlet, and a form of self-governing village community council is rapidly taking over the Government responsibilities for recruitment and for propaganda. In the past this has been recognized and reported as fact by neutral correspondents in the "communist show room" at Yenan. It can be said from personal observation that it is as true for the "grass roots communism" in the outlying areas of the Border Governments, where there is neither the occasion nor the opportunity for window dressing.

In economics, the communists have achieved a kind of self-sufficiency based on agriculture, but they have been isolated from the outside world and their industralism is negligible. Hence they do not possess the experienced industrialists, engineers and managers who could take over China's growing coastal industries. Within their borders their currency is relatively stable, but it is unlikely that they alone could take over the enormous financial problem caused by the inflation in Nationalist China. They would have to rely on the co-operation of economists and merchants whose first allegiance would

be to private profit.

But Chinese communism is an indigenous growth and in spite of its ruthlessness and many other surface similarities, it should not be confused with the communism of the West. I met several former landlords who had positions of importance in the communist administration. The communists will not work with the right wing Nationalist Government, but they have shown that neither capitalist nor communist is averse from collaboration when their Chinese pragmatism indicates that it is worth their while.

Militarily, while the communists are able to deploy experienced and courageous guerrilla forces, they are without sufficient trucks, heavy artillery, and ammunition. Above all they lack the aerial cover which is essential if they are to extend their present defensive campaigns to the systematic conquest of the rest of China. Their favourite marching song is the " Guerrilla Anthem ". Its theme runs : " We have no clothes, we have no arms, we have no ammunition, but we are not worried because the enemy is well supplied with all these and he will doubtless be persuaded to let us have them." The shrapnel which is picked out from the bodies of the wounded on both sides is from American shells. The captured trucks which carry the assault forces of the communists in their pitched battles are of American make. But American planes cannot be so easily wrested from their opponents. Whilst enough equipment can be captured to supply the harassing warfare of attrition which the communists are waging, they cannot by these means secure an overwhelming superiority. Without this it is impossible to convert stalemate into victory.

Meanwhile, on both sides there are men of integrity and drive, but few have been active in moderating the totalitarian claims of their Governments. There was a momentary gleam of hope during the Marshall peace talks in 1946. It seemed then that Kuomintang and Communists would reach one of those patch-work yet practical compromises at which Chinese are so adept. At the last moment, however, as General Marshall himself said, it was extremists on both sides who destroyed the chances of a compromise peace. For twenty years China has suffered from the zeal of her revolutionaries and the bigotry of her reactionaries. It is a disappointing story.

There are now men in China who are out of sympathy with both parties, and who desire a new order which to achieve they know must involve zeal and self-discipline. They are sick of a war in which many battles are won and few decisions reached. While ninety per cent. of China's people are illiterate they see eighty-six per cent. of the Nationalist budget spent upon maintaining and equipping the Nationalist armies and three per cent. on education. They observe with bitterness the gulf that lies between the golden unities of Chinese philosophy and the drab confusion of contemporary polemics. One fact is forcing its way inexorably into their minds; if China is to survive as a nation rather than as a collection of Balkanized provincial

groupings, there must be a "Government of the Middle Way". Such a government would serve the self-aggrandisement of neither extreme, and yet could interpret the reforming spirit of the communists alongside the constitutionalism of the nationalists. Nor is this the slender last hope of disillusionment and desperation. The Marshall talks came within an ace of succeeding on precisely this basis. It is a "practical" solution, and therefore in China especially, a practicable one. A government founded on the Chinese tradition of compromise is of all the best suited to rule strongly and to keep China together. But it is not only tradition which shapes men's reaction to the present chaos. They are as powerfully influenced by the new ideas of the western democracies. As one student leader in Peiping remarked: "We are not communists or anything like it. We have been brought up on the text books of the democratic west and our inspiration comes as much from the great democrats of England and America as it does from our own Chinese philosophers." And the appeals of China's nascent liberal movement are as much to the outside world of the democracies as to the apathetic and illiterate millions of China itself.

How will the Governments of the west respond to this appeal? To many Chinese, American intervention has appeared to be predominantly on the side of reaction. This has already done much to alienate the western sympathies of Chinese liberals, but it is not yet too late. The British Government have as much at stake as any in China's future. Our commercial interests are small; our military commitments a fraction of what they were before 1942. But China is already the battleground between the competing interests of Russia and America. If an atomic war is to break out anywhere it is in China that the chain reaction may well begin. So long as China is reft between two extremes backed respectively by two foreign powers, the danger of a direct clash between the backers is great. With a liberal, "middle way" Government there is the chance that Chinese internal differences can be rectified, and a stable State built up which denies its territory to the political, military and economic infiltration of both Russia and America.

At this time the leaders of this potentential middle way government are beginning their first big battle. So far it has been almost a secret battle. Within the two conflicting zones of China the news of what is happening is suppressed or distorted through controlled Government presses. Outside China no one is prepared to give the publicity and to show the interest which so vital an issue demands. Neither of the Parties in China is oblivious of our reactions. Both know that the large number of educated Chinese who are not Party members can still be influenced by the attitude and the opinion of this country to Chinese affairs. But so far our attitude has appeared to be one of indifference, and our opinion has not been voiced. This is not for lack of able and vigorous analysis of the issues by British Foreign Office representatives in China. But they cannot be expected to do more than

analyse. It is for the Government and the press in this country to act. Our very lack of our old commercial and military interests in China places us in Chinese eyes "above the battle" and renders British opinion thereby of greater weight. Although there is control of the organs of Chinese critical comment in China this does not mean that news cannot get round. It merely deprives the progressive forces in China of institutions which can command respect and attention for the news and comment they purvey. The British press and the British Parliament do command this respect and attention from educated Chinese, to an increasing extent and in spite of the distances that divide us. This is true also of the United Nations Organization, both at its headquarters and in the Far Eastern Council of the Food and Agriculture Organization which is now being set up. In both of these, Britain has a voice which should now be raised.

(*The author has just returned from China where for nearly two years until he resigned he served as a field administrator with the Friends' Ambulance Unit, mostly working in Honan Province, on the North China Plain, which covers the border line between Communist and Kuomintang Forces.*)

AN INDIAN CELEBRATION

By Margaret Paterson

MY husband and I spent August 15 in India celebrating with a mixed community of babus and coolies, of Assamese and other Hindus, with a sprinkling of Muslims. As a community we are more akin to a country district at home as opposed to cities or industrial areas. Altogether there are 6,177 people on the estate and we are twenty miles from the nearest small town, though we have *bustis* (hamlets) around us.

On the Thursday before the great day we were sent a programme of the celebrations for the fifteenth which read as follows: 8 a.m. Procession; 10 a.m. Flag Hoisting; 2 p.m. Sobah (Puja); 4.30 p.m. Meeting; 7 p.m. Lighting; 8.30 p.m. Bhawna (Theatrical Performance). During the night of the fourteenth there were sounds of many drums. This was merely a 'warming up' in preparation for the morrow.

Then the morning of India's freedom dawned. From the early hours the men and boys were busy erecting their pavilion. This consisted of a bamboo structure with open sides and tarpaulins on the roof. Full use was made of the palm fern and the banana palm for decoration purposes. At the entrance to the ground where the celebrations were to be held an arch was erected with '*Bonde Mataram*'—'Oh! Mother India take my salute'—written on it.

The flag hoisting took place at 10.15 a.m. (This was marvellous timing in a country where everything, from trains to celebrations, runs late. However the procession had still to take place!) The babus arranged their flag hoisting very well indeed. Two circles were drawn round the flagstaff. Within the inner circle stood the two officiating babus. Between the two circles stood some of the children, the babus' wives who were not in purdah, the two girls who were to hoist the flag, and us. Behind stood the labour force, the babus, and villagers from the near-by *busti.*

The babus who were officiating stood one on either side of the flagstaff. One led the singing in "Oh! Mother India, we salute thee". Then the two girls were led forward to unfurl the flag, one girl being the head babu's daughter, and the other a girl of the scheduled classes (the 'untouchables'). When the flag of the new India (orange, white and green, with the spinning wheel) was flying the second officiating babu led the singing in "The National Flag" and the Assamese National Song. '*Jai Hinds*' were called for Mahatma Gandhi, Pandit Nehru, and so on. The procession formed up immediately afterwards with drums and cymbals, and toured the roads, sing-

ing and dancing, finishing again at the flagstaff.

In the afternoon the *Sobah,* the real fun, started. First (much later than scheduled) the priest blessed the food which had been bought for the occasion. The company remained bowed to the ground, before the altar and the priest, during this part of the proceedings. All the time drums and cymbals clashed and boomed.

Then all the coolies, their wives and children, were sat down in rows while the *chowkidars* (men who help to keep order), under the supervision of the babus, served out the food. Banana palm leaves were used for plates. The food consisted of rice, lentils, *mati kolai* (a kind of inferior lentil) and chopped cocoanut, all mixed up together and salted. Bananas and sugar-cane were also passed around. Everyone was told to wait till all were served.

The children were a treat to watch. They heaped their food up like a sand castle, then patted it down. They looked around to see what was happening and how much longer they had to wait, then they repeated the sand castle process. After a time, growing tired of that, they started picking out the bits of cocoanut and putting them to one side. When the order was given they ate with a capital 'A'. In this, to them, the most important part of the day, we two lone Britons were not forgotten. On banana palm bark, very cleverly shaped into the resemblance of an oblong cake basket, we were ceremoniously presented with pieces of cocoanut and bananas.

At this stage of the proceedings my husband and I went home for a much needed cup of tea and a bath. We did not attend the meeting. We knew that the Indian staff would try to explain this change of government. They met with as little success as our earlier attempts to explain the change over. It is not that these coolies are unintelligent but anything to do with governments is too far removed from their lives. All they wanted to know was were we too going away. When we assured them we were not they said "*Tik hai*"—"All's well".

We are just ordinary folks, my husband and I. This reaction to the change-over happened on most tea gardens in Assam. The coolies depend on us to see that they get a fair wage for their labour; that they get their rations of food and clothing fairly measured out; that their houses are kept in good repair, and that, when necessary, they receive the medical attention they require. They are a simple, good-natured people when fairly dealt with, but they do not trust the Indian staff. There is so much bribery and corruption amongst Indian officials that distrust of the Indian for the Indian is inherent. This does not reflect on the tea garden Indian staffs who are no worse, and often much better than other Indian officials.

In the evening we turned out again to see the lighting up and to go to the theatrical performance. All along the verandas of the main buildings and round the doors of the private houses there were little earthenware bowls about three inches in diameter. These contained a little oil and wick, and

were lit with due ceremony. On that dark Indian night the resulting fairy lights were very pretty. In due time we proceeded to the place where the theatrical performance was to take place. When we appeared there were cries of *'Jai Hind'* for us. Literally translated this means 'Hail Hindustan' but has now come to be used as a greeting of friendship. We sat down and were offered cigarettes. Then some boys and men, on their own initiative, began to fan us and through the night relays kept up the fanning. This was a quite involuntary tribute to us, a friendly gesture, and was much appreciated by us as the night was very hot.

There is no stage at such a performance. A small space is kept more or less cleared in the middle of the crowd and there the scenes take place. As usual the actors, or rather dancers, said very little. The story was read in Assamese while the performers danced the action of the story in the half-stamping, half-shuffling gait of Indian dancing. There was of course the beautiful woman, (acted as usual by a man), who did the undulating dance usual to such a part. The story depicted was of the king who went into the forest hunting and was captured by an evil spirit. After various adventures he was rescued by his wife.

All through the night the drums and cymbals kept up their noise and the audience talked and sometimes moved around. Occasionally babus or *sirdars* ('gaffers' or bosses) or *chowkidars* would pass amongst the dancers to reach another part of the audience to hand round *'Pan'* and cigarettes or to quieten some who were noisier than they thought necessary. No one minded this, least of all the dancers.

In the early hours of the morning we left amid cheers of *'Jai Hind'*. We reached home with a feeling of love and responsibility for these grown up, good-natured children and with a greater hatred than ever for the agitators and the *goondas* (armed bands to whom anything offers an excuse for stealing and killing) who make life a thing of fear and distress instead of joy for these simple people.

CONSTITUTIONAL LAW IN VENEZUELA

By E. J. Cohn

AMONG the many strange situations that the war brought about was that of an eminent Swiss corporation lawyer who by the exigencies of his professional work saw himself transferred from his native country to Venezuela where he had to remain throughout the war. What does a man do who is a lawyer—not only by profession but also by disposition—when he is transplanted into a foreign country with plenty of leisure on his hands? He studies the law of the land.

The civil and commercial law of Venezuela is based on modern Continental law, as are all the South American laws, and therefore is not very remarkable. Far more interesting to the stranger is the constitutional law. Since 1811 the country has had more than twenty constitutions. According to one authority it has had fifty-two revolutions in a century and to another 104 (not counting small unrests) within seventy years. Clearly the constitutional law must mirror the moral and social life of the country and its people. So the exile delves into the constitutional law (no virgin territory, by the way, as there is already a remarkable native literature including a not yet completed three-volume history by a writer of erudition*). The result is a work† that, had it not been written in a distant part of the world and in Spanish, might have become a best-seller in the market of books on constitutional law. This Swiss jurist with his very European background introduces his readers to a world that is at the same time strange and familiar. There are novel problems, and men of whom we have not heard. Yet the same forces are working that we know so well. Against this unfamiliar background we witness the well-known struggle between law and order. We see how the law is used as a disguise, as an instrument or as a pretext, but also—though more rarely—as a source of moral strength.

Venezuela has no democratic tradition. It has been trying to become a democracy since 1935. In that year the dictatorship of Juan Vicente Gomez was overthrown. Gomez has become well-known in Europe since O'Rourke's book exposed him as the *Tyrant of the Andes*. But he was no isolated

* Gil Fortoul: *Historia Constitucional de Venezuela.* Of this work no less than three editions have been published.

† Ernesto Wolf: *Tratado de Derecho Constitucional Venezolano.* Prologo del Dr. Carlos *Morales,* Decano de la Fucu tad de Derecho de la Universitad Central de Venezuela y Ministro de Relaciones Exteriores de Los Estados Unidos de Venezuela. Two volumes. Caracas, Tipografia Americana, 1945.

figure. He was merely the last of a succession of dictators who had been in power in Venezuela ever since the time of Simon Bolivar, interrupted by few and short intervals of non-dictatorial régimes. Two of these dictators, Guzman Blanco in the last century and Gomez in this, had managed to remain in power for several decades. Theirs was a complete dictatorship—so complete that it even produced its own ideology. Of course, it was "native ideology"—neither Fascism nor Naziism. It was called "democratic Cæsarism", an excellent name in a country with a strong background of Latin culture which to all intents and purposes is identical with the earlier phases of Nazi ideology. Students of the Nazi theory of law should read something of the writings of Vallenilla Lanz and Pedro M. Arcaya.* It is a surprise to realize that in distant Caracas excuses for dictatorship were invented which occurred to Professors Binder, Koellreutter, Larenz and other Nazi writers only between ten and twenty years later. Dr. Bouquet has said that for the brain of the hominidæ there are only a certain limited number of types of solution to the riddle of the universe. The same seems to be true of the puzzle of government and society.

Lopez Contreras, the first Venezuelan President, after the revolution of 1935 certainly faced a formidable task. It is clear that in a country like Venezuela full-blown democracy on the Anglo-American model could not possibly be introduced immediately. It was necessary to go about it warily. Errors were unavoidable. They could be made and were made at both levels, the political as well as the administrative-technical. Foreign precedents could not always be studied or understood from a distance. There were problems for which no foreign precedents were available.

In this country we have the universal franchise. We consider it as a democratic principle that there should be a universal franchise. But is that right in Venezuela where seventy per cent. of the population are illiterate? Is it wise to extend the franchise to those who cannot read and write? Is it democratic to do so? The question has in Venezuela been the subject-matter of considerable dispute. The law at present in force has answered it in the negative. The decision is probably wise. But it is a decision on the political level. The administrative-technical question that arises from it, that is, how to give effect to the principle, is not an easy one either. How is one going to ascertain whether the individual voter can read or write? To demand a certificate of ability to read and write from every voter requires an administrative organization that a backward country does not find easy to establish. To confine the right to those who have gone through some form of schooling, is unjust to those who became literate by their own efforts. The present law is more lenient. The individual voter has to affirm his ability on oath. If he is unknown to the election committee he must bring two witnesses who can

* Pedro M. Arcaya's book *Venezuela and its actual régime* has been published in English, New York 1936.

certify to his knowledge and who are known to the committee. In doubtful cases the right to vote thus depends on the strength of existing connections—direct or indirect—with the election committee. Clearly the administrative-technical problem is not satisfactorily solved.

In this country we have a fairly homogeneous mass of voters, all with insignificant exceptions—belonging to European civilization. But what about a country whose civilization is predominantly European and whose inhabitants are predominantly either uncivilized or non-European or both? Most countries in this situation—with the exception of some of the British colonies, like Jamaica—confine the franchise to the European population. But this is rarely frankly stated as what it is: a political decision. It is usually hidden away behind some administrative-technical curtain. Few countries want to confess to this type of restricted democracy. In the U.S.A. there is a poll tax. Venezuela has adopted a much more ingenious procedure. Every voter is required to present to the electoral committee an identity card with his photograph and his finger prints. The costs of the photograph are sufficiently high to deter large sections of the poorer non-European classes of the population, even though they might pass the reading and writing test.

The ideal of party democracy is that there should be organizations fighting for different ideals, but united in the desire to advance the welfare of the community and respecting the person of their opponents. In many countries the organizations, calling themselves parties, have never corresponded even faintly to this description. In Venezuela too, the parties are "personalistic" organizations. They are formed for the purpose of satisfying individual aspirations or the aspirations of a closely-knit group. This is a commonplace among Venezuelan political writers. The "liberal" slogan is "new men". It means that the party desires the spoils of office for its leaders. The "conservative" party proclaims as its goal "constitution, peace and order" meaning thereby that it prefers to retain these spoils for itself. Can the law remedy such ills? Venezuelan law has made a gallant effort to do so. It provides that the formation of any political organization requires the authorization of the President of the State. To obtain this it must submit to him its articles of association and a concrete programme. Approval must not be given if fundamental problems are left to the decision of a board or of a committee, instead of to the general meeting of the members. Against a decision rejecting an application for admission an appeal lies to the Federal Court. It is hard to believe that the personalistic character of the parties will really be affected by such measures. But it is difficult to see what else could be done on the technical legal level. Here is one of the ills that the lawyer cannot well cure.

Another problem is that of the non-democratic parties. All South American countries have had many dictatorships. Those that are democracies are therefore greatly afraid of dictatorial parties and have every right to

be afraid. They are also greatly afraid of the communists. Is it the duty of a democratic state to permit the formation and operation of a non-democratic party? The history of the German Weimar Republic affords an illustration of the dangers resulting from an affirmative answer to this question. Until 1945 an express ruling of the Venezuelan constitution prohibited communist and anarchist propaganda. One section of the constitution states that war propaganda and propaganda intended to undermine the social and political order is not permitted. This was followed by a ruling to the effect that communist and anarchist propaganda was always considered as being intended to undermine the social and political order. This ruling was abrogated in 1945, following the example of both the United States of America* and Switzerland. It would appear that the provisions of the electoral law which require every party to obtain a licence from the President of the State would be sufficient to prevent abuses of political freedom. On the other hand experience in Venezuela—as elsewhere—has shown that rules like the anti-communist law have a fatal tendency to be applied against those for whom they were not intended and to make martyrs of those whom they were intended to suppress.

In Venezuelan practice parliament, ministers, cabinets and—consequently—elections will never gain the same importance as they have in the European democracies. For the preponderance of the power of the President reduces them all to a very secondary rôle. The presidential system is deeply ingrained in most South American States. Venezuela is its classic territory. The constitution lists all the powers of the President expressly. The article containing this list is the longest in the constitution. The President is not only Head of the State; he is also its Prime Minister. He appoints and removes the other Ministers. He is the head of the army and of the fleet and the superior of the Governor of the Federal District in which Caracas, the capital, is situated. He appoints and he dismisses all civil servants. Perhaps it would be more correct to speak of "State employees", because, of course, under conditions such as these a civil service in the English sense of the term can hardly be expected to develop.

Venezuela is a federal State. In addition to the Federal District and several "territories" there are no less than twenty states. Each has its own legislative assembly, each its own President who is assisted by a Secretary-General. But the federal structure in no way restricts the powers of the President of the Republic. On the contrary it enhances it. This strange situation has been brought about by the fact that the legislative assemblies of the states have mostly seen fit to delegate their power of appointing the President of the state to the President of the Republic. Where this has been done the latter has adopted a wide interpretation of the delegation and assumed power to appoint also the Secretary General. Where no such delegation has taken

* Schneidermann v. U.S.A., 320 U.S. 118.

place, the President of the state is nevertheless in fact the nominee of the President of the Republic. The extent to which the Presidents of the states have become the servants of the central President can be seen from two significant decisions of the Federal Supreme Court. In one of them the Court actually held that the President of the state of Carabobo did not have his habitual residence in that state:

> The residence which Señor J.R.P. saw himself obliged to accept at Valencia because of his nomination as President must be considered as temporary and not as permanent, if one takes into consideration that his nomination was the work of the Federal Executive and not of the Legislative Assembly of the State. He was consequently subject to being replaced at any moment at which the President of the Republic considered this advisable from the point of view of his policy and the interests of the country.

In another decision the Federal Court held that a state that had once delegated the power of nominating its President to the Federal President could not withdraw the power thus granted—not even by an alteration of its constitution. The result, of course, is that Venezuela is a federal State in name, but not in reality. Federalism requires more than a network of legal provisions to become a reality. But the fact that it cannot become a reality without some foundation of fact does not mean that the legal network that has been established is wholly ineffective. On the contrary: it is a well-known rule of experience that legal rules which are inconsistent with the factual situation produce a great deal of mischief. Venezuela confirms this experience. Dozens of handbooks for international legal practitioners contain the information that lawsuits in Venezuela are exceedingly expensive and exceedingly long-winded. The federal structure of the country has supplied one of the reasons, if not the chief reason, for this deplorable state of affairs. Until 1864 the country was divided into five appeal court districts. From the appeal courts a further appeal was permitted to the Supreme Court. In 1864 federalism stepped in and overlaid the country with a judicial organization wholly inappropriate to the two million inhabitants of its thinly populated territory. In the capital of every one of the twenty states appeal courts were formed. From these the further appeal went to the twenty Supreme Courts formed also in each of the state capitals. It is clear that in no country of comparable size can a sufficient number of capable judges be found. Complaints against the administration of the law by the state courts multiplied. But the answer to these complaints was not a centralization of justice. All that was done was that the Federal Supreme Court was given power to quash sentences of the State Supreme Courts. The result was that a case had to run through four instances before the final decision was possible. No wonder that in many cases it was years before this goal was reached. Since 1945 an improvement has taken place. The State Supreme Courts were abolished, so that the appeal lies directly from the State Appeal Courts to the Federal Supreme Court. But the number of appeal courts is

still too large for a small country. Justice need not everywhere be as strictly centralized as it is in Britain. Yet it seems clear that Venezuela hardly needs twenty appeal courts, if this countrry can do with one.

Venezuelan law provides for a strange institution, called a Procurator General of the Nation. This official combines in his person functions that at first glance would seem difficult to combine. He is the representative of the State before all tribunals of the country, civil as well and criminal; but he is also responsible for the financial side of the administration of justice. In the European Continental countries the Minister of Justice is as a rule in charge of the financial side of the administration of the courts and a separate official under his orders is responsible for the representation of the State in all courts of law. We are assured that the Venezuelan institution has not led to abuses. But another rule of the constitution seems more open to objections. The judges of all courts are appointed only for what is called the "constitutional period", that is, for five years. The assurance that they cannot be removed during this period must be understood to mean that they can be removed after it has expired. The decisions, even of the Federal Court, show traces of a strong tendency to approve anything the administration does. Administration in countries where the opposition is apt to meet with all sorts of difficulties, legal and factual, has a good chance of surviving the constitutional period. So has a judge who tries to uphold the administration.

Venezuela is, it is clear, still far from being near the ideal of democracy. But is it on the road to it? Nobody who has not lived in the country and actually taken part in its life has the right to pronounce a view on this question. But one may draw some inferences at least from the fact that a work of nearly 1,000 pages could appear at Caracas, containing very frank criticism of persons and of conditions, and that its author—far from being held in disgrace—was made a Professor at the University for publishing it and that the Foreign Minister, who is also the Dean of the Faculty of Law, wrote a graceful preface to it, fully recognizing its merits. The number of European countries where this would to-day be impossible has unfortunately become very large. In the sense in which tradition understands the word "democracy" Venezuela would appear to-day to have more claim to be called democratic than many countries with a far older tradition and a much more settled society.

(*The author is a Member of the English Bar and a Doctor of Philosophy (London) in Comparative Jurisprudence.*)

PERPETUUM MOBILE

By Gordon Symes

HERE and now I state my joy
In kingfisher, dragonfly,
And the spectrum in the spray.

Me mobility enchants;
Bats' maze, meteors' plunge;
A million sunsets. Change.

Change of seasons, leaves and sky.
Sparks or swans momentarily
Inscribe the clouds, end day.

All's flux a fugitive pattern prints
Only with what significance
The corner of the eye invents.

Never look too searchingly.
Yield to currents, be ruled by
The body's endless chemistry.

I know when thunderclouds impend
Oilily, when birds are stifled and
The too-green day is glassed and bound,

For an end my senses cry—
Whether downpour or struck tree—
To the mirage of eternity.

Storm or shock their solace have.
Wind, blow the leaping bonfire love
Or hunt its ashes. Only move.

THE LEGACY OF HISTORY

By W. Thomson Hill

A MOMENT came in the story of mankind when his past became articulate. Unknown and uncounted centuries had passed. How many? How filled? How much truth survived in verbal memory? Archaeology attempts, with increasing confidence, to dig through these centuries and reduce its discoveries to an ordered system. It is forced to leave great gaps and to devise chronologies too soon falsified by new discoveries. It ventures even to correct the dates of written history. Yet until we reach written history we still peer through a dim curtain.

That moment came to different peoples at different times. In this island history began at a precise date. A soldier led two expeditions from Gaul and went back to write his dispatches. A thousand years separated Caesar's pacing of the cliffs of Boulogne from those of the Norman duke with whom English 'low-brow' history begins: seven hundred and more from those of Napoleon. Adolf Hitler also came thus far.

History does not always fall into these dramatic sequences. Britain happens to possess no recorded history before Julius Caesar wrote the first chapter. We can, however, see from some such rapid glance how the imagination can be kindled by events which leap across the centuries. Epochs recognize one another: great men too. We can also understand better how the historians of the ancient world were prompted to fix their eyes on some peak of time which seemed to tower above the rest. Every such spectacle is soon dwarfed in a lengthening time-perspective. Every latest chapter in history ceases quickly to be the last. Within living memory English history as taught in schools came to a stop with the battle of Waterloo. Once it ended with the "Glorious Revolution". The Tudor chroniclers on whom Shakespeare drew saw time stand still with the union of the houses of York and Lancaster.

If we must then be for ever shifting our gaze can we find no firm outline? Is there no consistent pattern? Can we draw no solid conclusions? Are there no valid lessons? Professor H. A. L. Fisher confessed he could find none. Acton and Toynbee sought for the threads and displayed some of the colours and their weaving. The elder historians had no doubt what their purpose was. The first great European prose work begins with this sentence: "What Herodotus of Halicarnassus found out by careful inquiry is here set forth, in order that past events may not be blotted out by time from the memory of men, nor great and wondrous deeds of Greeks and foreigners lack renown, nor in

particular the reason why they fought against each other."

Thucydides says in his opening paragraph that he had begun his task of collecting materials at the very outset of the Peloponnesian War, in the belief that it would be great and noteworthy above all that had gone before, seeing that the rest of the Hellenic race was preparing to take one side or the other in " the greatest movement that had ever stirred the Hellenes, extending even to the Barbarians, and so to speak to the greater part of mankind."

Polybius, like Thucydides, treated past history as the best guide to the present. Plutarch's whole aim was to show by the contrast of their lives where famous men had failed. So with all the great historians until the specializing writers of the present day. Their translators followed them. John Brende, the sixteenth-century translator of Quintus Curtius, wrote of history as " the most excellent kind of knowledge, the chiefest parte of civyl prudence, and the mirrour of men's life . . . For in them men may see the groundes and beginnynges of common wealthes, ye causes of their encrease, of their prosperous maintenance, and good preservation, and again by what means they decreased, and came to ruyne."

A familiar note is sounded in these extracts. The writers were convinced that they were describing the greatest of all wars up to their time. Nor were they usually wrong. The same description was applied to what we now call " World War One "; that was moreover to be " the war to end war." In 1947 " World War Two " has obliterated all others—we are not quite so sure if it was a war to end war. The men of 1815 were equally sure there had been nothing like that eighteen-year struggle before. The trenches of the Civil War are still to be seen in the Southern States, and a contemporary writer inscribes on his title-page " The Greatest War in History."

If by the lack of a clear pattern in history we mean that men have never learnt from it how to avoid war we may accept the denial. Beyond doubt, however, history does present us with a number of groups of events with fairly clear-cut outlines, if with ragged edges. Within the limits of these periods history becomes a unity. They have often been followed by longer or shorter periods of settled peace. Great empires fought their enemies to a standstill and imposed their will upon them. At these moments it might seem that an equilibrium had been reached. History paused to take breath. An appearance at least of stability and tranquillity had been attained. This was the aim, and this the excuse, of every predatory conqueror. However his power had been acquired it was used to maintain internal peace. The conquered peoples accepted its benefits and absorbed the conqueror's culture; if the conquests proved permanent, his language also.

* * * * *

Such a moment seemed to have arrived in the Augustan age. Rome had

inherited most of Alexander's conquests, had destroyed Carthage, conquered Spain and Gaul, dominated the Mediterranean and had reached the Channel, which Caesar had crossed, and opened our own history. Greek liberty had long disappeared. Athens was no more than the capital of Achaia, a Roman province. Civil war had been suppressed, with the old Roman virtues. An epoch had begun. If ever that word, now used so carelessly, was justified, it was then.

Rome then assumed a place from which the prestige of her name was not finally dislodged until Napoleon destroyed the last feeble remnants of the Holy Roman Empire. The Catholic Church still maintains the name and world-wide claim of Rome. The languages of Western Europe inherit its speech. Latin America finds a cultural unity in that name. Until days almost within memory Latin was the universal vehicle of learning. English has borrowed from it so freely that we can hardly write a sentence without it. Main lines and road arteries follow the routes planned by Roman engineers. When the fabric of the empire broke up modern nations rose from its decline and fall, and when they began to emerge from the dark ages the name of Rome was on their lips. The Teutonic races who became our own ancestors brought with them a few Latin words already learnt on the fringes of the empire. Gothic architecture sprang from an attempt to imitate the derelict buildings of the Roman provinces. Czar and Kaiser used an imperial title. Soviet Moscow has not forgotten that it succeeds to a dominion whose capital was on the Bosphorus. The history of Poland is a series of footnotes on the division of the Eastern and Western Empire under Diocletian.

Yet Imperial Rome was new in the first century. Behind Rome stood Greece. The culture of Greece came down to us through Rome, which had first to go to school. This is no figure of speech. Cicero employed Greek teachers and brought many Greek words into Latin currency. Horace acknowledged his debt in his Epistle about "our rustic past":

> Greece, captive brought, her captors captive made:
> To civil arts rude Latium homage paid.

Every educated Roman found it necessary to read and write in Greek. "Illustrious Romans chose the idiom of Plato as the best vehicle for their own thoughts; dramatic poets gained a reputation by versions of the tragedies and comedies of Athens; and every versifier felt himself compelled to receive with rules of uncompromising prosody the metres of ancient Greece." (Donaldson)

This picture reminds us of the second Greek conquest of the West at the Renaissance, of which the results and inspiration are with us still. Shakespeare is its child. The vitality of Greek thought and imagination and Greek methods of expression cannot be suppressed even if compulsory Greek has disappeared from the universities. Conspicuous in this Greek tradition was the treatment of history—a word used by Herodotus in the opening sentence already quoted and meaning learning by diligent inquiry. The historians and geographers of

the time of the Caesars are the most important of the Greek writers who flourished under Roman patronage. Their opportunity came with the fact that Rome had as yet no school of historians and that the rapid extension of the Roman dominion created a demand for knowledge about new peoples and their countries.

* * * *

Four additions to the Loeb Library* illustrate this period, although one of the authors, Quintus Curtius (a Greek who wrote in Latin), can be assigned no certain date between the early part of the first century A.D. and the opening of the fourth. None of them has the quality of the Attic writers. But they are all in the Attic tradition. Diodorus Siculus has the curiosity and sometimes the naïve credulity of Herodotus and like him was an unwearied traveller. He tells us that he spent thirty years in preparing materials for his book, which he called "The Library of History" and intended to be an encyclopaedia of all known events and nations up to his time. His inspiration was his conviction that a common civilization was coming into existence with the universal domination of Rome. This was not a solitary belief. Polybius traced with full approval the steps which had led to the Roman triumph. And it has been suggested that a trend towards absolutism was inherent in the great Athenian writers themselves.

What if this were true and we could explain it in modern terms? A recent English work has dismissed Socrates, Plato and Aristotle as little better than fascists, upholders of a slave society and the enemies of the people. This may seem foolish enough; yet the Attic historians seem to yield up their personality more readily if we find them out of ease with "the People". Democratic Athens banished Xenophon and Thucydides and condemned Socrates to death. Cleon is the immortal demagogue. The Athenian democracy brought Athens to ruin. Moreover the greater Attic writers were soldiers. If we were to label them Die-Hard Tories and members of a ruling class the anachronism might pass as a pointer to the mood of the fourth century B.C. To serve in the national militia was indeed the elementary duty of the free Athenian. Xenophon's life was saved by Socrates at the battle of Delium, where he fought with the Athenian cavalry. In a later generation Arrian was a successful general in Asia Minor; he called his history *The Anabaisis of Alexander* in direct imitation of Xenophon's famous story of the Ten Thousand, and he relied on soldiers' memoirs, notably that of Ptolemy. Polybius was the son of a general and himself a commander of cavalry in Macedonia. All these men compiled history with a soldier's accuracy of fact and a soldier's eye for

* *Diodorus Siculus*, vol IV, books IX-XII, translated by C. H. Oldfather. *Dio Chrysostom*, vol IV, discourses XXXVII-LX, translated by H. Lamar Crosby. *Quintus Curtius*, History of Alexander, vol. I, books I-V; *Quintus Curtius*, vol II, books VI-X, translated by J. C. Rolfe. Heinemann. 10s. each.

the country.

Here then was the legacy of history inherited by the Augustan age. Here too was the historical frontier between an old world and a new. Such was the theme. There was no Thucydides or Xenophon to develop it. In their place we find Diodorus Siculus and Quintus Curtius, with Dion Chrysostom, master of rhetoric and much the best writer of the three, but only incidentally an historian. Diodorus can be erected into a figure of fun. He was so far from being a soldier that he confused the right and left wings of an army. He cannot be dismissed so easily. Much of his enormous output is lost. The books or fragments remaining are cited in modern bibliographies, as they were in antiquity. His Greek is easy to read and his story is told with that " generous amenity " which a French scholar has attributed to Herodotus. Some flavour of this has been passed on by his translators. Henry Cogan revelled in his author's prolixity and added his own when he wrote in 1653 that " what the whole Universe is in comparison of one City, or Nation, the same are his writings in regard to others; for whereas we can draw out of them as out of a Rivulet or a little Brook, the Acts but of one City, or Prince, we may out of him, as out of a great and spacious river, draw all that hath been done by the most eminent States, and flourishing Commonwealths."

It is fair to quote Diodorus in his own person, and we may take a passage from a long digression about the Sicilian law-giver Charontas, who framed a law requiring that all the sons of citizens should learn to read and write, the State providing the teachers' salaries:

> In fact the law-giver rated reading and writing above every other kind of learning, and with right good reason: for it is by means of these that most of the affairs of life and such as are most useful are concluded, like votes, letters, covenants, laws, and other things which make the greatest contribution to orderly life. What man, indeed, could compose a worthy laudation of the knowledge of letters? For it is by such knowledge alone that the dead are carried in the memory of the living and that men widely separate in space hold converse through written communication with those who are at the furthest distance from them, as if they were at their side; and in the case of covenants in time of war between States and Kings the firmest guarantee that such agreements will abide is provided by the unmistakable character of writing. Indeed, speaking generally, it is writing alone which preserves the cleverest sayings of men of wisdom and the oracles of the gods, as well as philosophy and all knowledge, and is constantly handing them down to succeeding generations for the ages to come. Consequently, while it is true that nature is the cause of life, the cause of good life is the education based on reading and writing . . .

It this is a digression it tempts us to follow the writer along his by-path, and that is worth while for it leads on to such topics as quarrels caused by stepmothers between fathers and their children and the rights and wrongs of remarriage after divorce. But nobody can imagine Thucydides allowing himself such excursions. Compare with this kind of writing the terse summing up of the Athenian disaster at Syracuse:

> This was the greatest event in the war, or in my opinion in Greek history: at once most glorious to the victors and most calamitous to the conquered. They were beaten at all

points and all together: their sufferings in every way were great. They were totally destroyed— their fleet, their army, everything—and few out of many returned home. So ended the Sicilian expedition.

There can be no doubt which is the more modern writing.

It is tempting to extend such comparisons, to ask ourselves how Livy and Tacitus addressed themselves to similar tasks, how Quintus Curtius followed Alexander into India without understanding his geography, or how Dion Chrysostom brought the arts of rhetoric to the analysis of character. But this would take us farther still; and we should want to take down Gibbon from the shelf, refresh outselves in Voltaire and De Tocqueville, reach for a favourite volume of Clarendon and look into the moderns from Macaulay to Trevelyan. The theme is explosive and paper is restricted. We must be content with such hints as emerge of the unity of history, and with the contentment to be drawn from dipping again into the classical sources. Competent translations and maps make this easy with " Loeb " at our elbow—or our bedside.

CORRESPONDENCE.

Education in Germany

To the Editor of The Fortnightly,

Sir,

You may have learnt from visitors to post-war Germany that, besides other public things, education in general is lacking in many necessities which a civilized country should possess. This is primarily due to the material and mental destructions of the war. In consequence, as far as the British occupation zone, which is not very much different from the others, is concerned, even the efforts of individuals are in vain.

Elementary and secondary schools have many pupils but the number of teaching personnel cannot keep up with them since a great many of the former teachers were dismissed because of their political attitude. In addition to that there is the acute shortage of school buildings, books and the like. Thus, the pupils have an average daily lesson of three to four hours which is far too little, since there has not been any teaching for almost a year. Though the desire to attend the universities to-day is exceedingly widespread, ex-senior officers and those with a Nazi-political background are forbidden to matriculate and only a very few of those graduating from the secondary school may go on to the university. The average age of the beginner students is now about twenty-five, and they must live under extremely hard conditions. But they are eager to learn, perhaps because the terms of various facilities now grant that everybody who holds a university degree has it with full right.

But besides all these regular educating institutions other things to raise the common level of the German people's mind are springing up out of the ruins that once were Germany. Nearly every larger city has what we call a "People's High School" with lessons for everybody, held in the evening to allow the working men to attend, and dealing with all interesting branches of knowledge, comprising science, literature, languages, jurisprudence, politics, medicine, and so on. These lessons, for which such a small fee is paid that everybody can afford it, are mostly divided for beginners and intermediates and are based on an average preparatory training. The teachers for these high schools are professional lecturers and are honoured to teach in them. Of course there are also other means of education, such as all the private schools and private teachers lecturing on subjects for progress in industry and the professions.

Yours faithfully,

WILLI HOMMEN.

British Zone,
Germany.

THE FORTNIGHTLY LIBRARY

PUBLIC LIVES

By John Armitage

WHETHER the aim of a biography, or an autobiography, is to record with accuracy and understanding the life of a man, or to write history so that, in Professor R. G. Collingwood's word, it gives "insight" into the moral and political problems of an age, or frankly to entertain, the plan of it presents the author with initial difficulties not easily overcome at the first essay. The temptation to experiment with new forms is strong; but, more often than not, the chronological approach proves simplest and best.

Even the chronological approach, however, in these days of short books of not more than two to three hundred pages long, presents fresh difficulties of its own. The practice of John Morley, for example, of inserting long passages of contemporary evidence to support his narrative—as is done brilliantly in his Richard Cobden but too overpoweringly in his Gladstone—is denied to the modern author. Nor can he, as Mrs. Gaskell does in her unforgettable life of Charlotte Brontë, spend twenty pages in painting in the backcloth before introducing the essential character well on in chapter three. Even more must he beware the pitfall of believing, or pretending to believe, that the shortness of his task relieves him of the necessity for research.

Some day we shall return to appropriate length in biography and cease to pot great lives: for the then newly educated many will have learned to do without elaborate visual aids and to read with the seriousness of the educated few of fifty years ago. Meanwhile most writers, while accepting the chronological approach as the only form for their autobiography or biography, will continue to try out ways of curtailing that form's insatiable demands on space.

Three such experiments have lately come to hand. All have much merit, all are worthy of our serious consideration, yet two at least disappoint, as they might so easily have thrilled, if they had been planned differently for a greater length. The bigger disappointment, because a serious historian could not be expected to confine what he had to say on the subject in so short a space and because more is attempted than is actually done, is David Ogg's biography of H. A. L. Fisher.* His intention, acknowledged on the title page, was to write a short biography but he did not follow it up by planning a short book. His book is attractive because his opinions—notably in the chapter on "The History of Europe"—are lively and controversial. But there are occasions when the reader is uncertain whether the book is a biography of Fisher or Fisher a chopping block for the views of Mr. Ogg.

For this suspicion the plan of the book may be partially to blame. Early pages which quickly lead from schooldays to Oxford give way to chapters which confine Fisher to one pigeon hole after another, denying to the reader a sight of the whole man. Thus we are given "Sheffield and India", "The Education Bill", "Cabinet Minister: The League of Nations", and so on, valuable essays, chronologically arranged, but unsatisfying as biography.

A particular example of the fault is the chapter on the Education Bill which became the Act of 1918. This is commonly known still as the Fisher Act and in Mr. Ogg's chapter the student naturally hopes to find precisely in what way Fisher influenced it.

* *Herbert Fisher—A Short Biography.* By David Ogg. Edward Arnold. 10s. 6d.

What he gets, however, is an account of "some traditions in the earlier development of education in England" and the main provisions of the Bill. None of these facts, though supplying useful background information, has much to do with Fisher. When he became President of the Board of Education at the end of 1916 the demand for educational reform was already loud and most of the provisions of the Bill had been canvassed for many months. Early in 1917 *The Educational Supplement* of *The Times* stated in a leader that Fisher was determined not to outstrip public opinion. If this was his intention he seems to have kept to it and the part he played was the good one of piloting the Bill through Parliament and making a strong impression on the country from the platform. But of what went on behind the scenes and Fisher's private opinions Mr. Ogg can tell us little.

Autobiography by Neville Cardus, the second of our three volumes, is a book to excite all those who love good writing, enjoy a well told story and take for their pleasure a day at Lord's or an evening at Covent Garden.* Curiously perhaps, it is not cricket or music which makes this book memorable but Part One "The Struggle" describing the upward climb from the slums of Manchester to the staff of *The Manchester Guardian.* This is brilliant autobiography. Dickens would have revelled in it, for life abounds and unforgettable characters tumble from its magic pages.

Alas, having arrived, Mr. Cardus abandons the whole man, dividing the remainder of his tale into two sections: "My Summers", that is cricket, and "My Winters—and Music". From now on the book is mainly entertainment, the author marking time with important friends in two walks of life—and a self-consciousness that fame too readily brings. Mr. Cardus is not altogether satisfied with his reputation as "Cricketer"; he sees it, we fear, as a stumbling block to his proper appreciation as a music critic. These chapters are delightful and as pleasant and amusing as Noel Coward's biography, *Present Indicative*: but they lack the depth of the earlier part which, in its own way, is comparable in excellence with Sir Osbert Sitwell's *Left Hand, Right Hand!* and *The Scarlet Tree.*

The third book, *The Brontës* by Phyllis Bentley, is one of the first two titles in a new publishing venture, "The English Novelists Series."† The aim of these short books (in Miss Bentley's work 115 small pages) is largely to help those readers who discovered the great English novelists during the recent war. They are also expected to appeal "to the scholar and book-lover." That latter task may seem to be euphemistically expressed but the field is large without this nebulous class and a series maintaining the standard set in Miss Bentley's study can admirably achieve the former purpose.

Miss Bentley's plan is neat. She divides her book into five chapters: one long one which is biographical followed by three short critical essays on the works of the sisters and a final summary on "The Brontës' Place in English Literature." Little enough, perhaps, is added to our knowledge of the remarkable Brontë family but here and there are touches of understanding which show the capacity of a sister novelist for a work of this kind and there is an emphasis placed on the Brontë children's day-dream world, which repays our attention.

The plan of the book serves its purpose well. The smallness of the scale of the work makes it impossible to regard it otherwise than as a useful guide for beginners; but it is one likely to excite interest in the Brontës, enticing the reader to seek the novels and poems with a sound appreciation of what to look for. It therefore does its job well and the only regret is that here is a synopsis of a much bigger book which may never be written.

* *Autobiography.* By Neville Cardus. Collins. 12s. 6d.

† *The Brontës.* By Phyllis Bentley. Home & Van Thal. 6s.

THE HISTORY OF JAPAN, by Kenneth Scott Latourette. *Macmillan.* 20*s.*

JAPAN, PAST AND PRESENT, by Edwin O. Reischauer. *Duckworth.* 8*s.* 6*d.*

In his preface to Dr. Reischauer's book Sir George Sansom justly remarks that before the war in the Far East "there was no single short book which gave a lucid and tolerably complete picture of Japan's early history and development in modern times." (Sir George's own beautiful book on Japan stops short at the Meiji restoration: one is still waiting hopefully for its sequel.) Meanwhile the two books under review fill the deficiency admirably, either apart or better still together since in some ways they are complementary. Dr. Latourette rejoices in facts and dates which he handles clearly and tersely with a nice selection of the essential where, in a book of only 270 pages, so much must be omitted. This is aided by an excellent chronology of significant events in Japan's history and numerous illustrations. Dr. Reischauer does not ignore facts but deals rather in broad effects which bring the successive phases of Japan's development vividly before the reader. Both books are extremely interesting whether for students or general readers.

What we would, but shall never, know, is where exactly the Japanese came from and what has made them so entirely different from other Asiatics. Insularity from the mainland has no doubt done much and Japan's fairy-like beauty still more. But in their faculty for discipline and organization, their enterprise and marked political genius (not always exerted for ends that please us but none the less real) they stand alone. As Dr. Reischauer points out, it seems almost incredible that a people who had no written history nor even writing until they learnt it from China and seemed indeed largely primitive, should, under Prince Shotoku, their first constitution-builder in the seventh century, have devoted themselves so avidly to absorbing the wisdom, culture and polity—even the conception of a capital city and how to lay it out—from the Chinese, who were then, under the T'ang dynasty, at their greatest and most glorious.

Another curious feature is that the Emperor has nearly always been a puppet. First the dominant power was the Fujiwara family (which even to modern times always supplied Japan's Empresses) but neither they nor any of the Shoguns, even the totalitarian Tokugawa who ruled despotically for 250 years, thought of displacing the Emperor. No doubt his alleged descent from the Sun goddess protected him and because of his prestige with the people it was convenient for the Shoguns in Yeddo (Dr. Reischauer uses the less common romanization Edo) to "have a partner, Mr. Jorkins" in Kyoto. The evil use made by the Army in modern times of this divine marionette is, of course, known to all.

As now one looks to the near signing of the peace treaty with Japan, the grand question is how far she has changed from feudal to democratic mentality. The past supplies an interesting comment. Thus the rise of the mercantile class under the Ashikaga Shoguns recalls a similar development in England when the barons were slaughtering each other in the Wars of the Roses: then it was, in Japan, that the foundations of the *zaibatsu*, the great commercial and financial syndicates, were laid, paving the way for Japan's modern economic expansion. Dr. Latourette shows how from the moment of a constitution being granted in 1889, the Diet struggled for power and reality. A similar struggle, backed by the *zaibatsu*, came in the 1920's with so much success that the Army revolted and seized control of the Government. But to-day, again, in the general elections of 1946 and 1947, the enthusiasm shown by voters (now entirely free from police terrorism) is surely a promising sign. How it may turn out will depend not a little on the character of the peace treaty and especi-

ally on the attitude hereafter of other peoples towards the Japanese. From this point of view both Dr. Latourette and Dr. Reischauer might have given more attention to the very real grievances which, on any impartial reading of history, Japan has had against the West.

A particularly interesting section of Dr. Reischauer's book deals with Japan's artistic and literary eminence, the rise of the drama, the graceful tea ceremony, landscape gardening, and the remarkable novels of modern times. Less pleasing was Iyeyasu's creation of a secret police, the first of its kind as an organ of State. Readers of Dr. Reischauer may also learn how the Japanese Emperors are descended from the Sun goddess; and the little-known fact that Japan was once ruled (as ancient Chinese tribes were) by women. Well, Japanese women now have the vote and have members of their own sex in the Diet. So perhaps they may yet avenge the long centuries of their enslavement to men.

O. M. GREEN.

LIFE IN RUSSIA, by John Lawrence. *Allen & Unwin.* 12*s.* 6*d.*

ESCAPE TO LIVE, by Wing-Commander Edward Howell, O.B.E., D.F.C. *Longmans Green.* 8*s.* 6*d.*

The worst feature of the ordinary educated Englishman's attitude towards Russia is his ignorance. However deeply he may approve or disapprove of Soviet foreign policy or Soviet methods of government, he knows little or nothing of the everyday lives of the Russian people. It is probably not an exaggeration to say that, because of the popularity of Tolstoy and Chekov, the average reader knows more of Russian day-to-day life in the latter half of the last century than he does of Russia in 1947. This ignorance is not entirely due to the limitations of the iron curtain. In part it has been caused by a deliberate myopia when looking towards the east of Europe. The effect, in any case, is that we still read about life in Soviet Russia with much of the wonderment and credulity with which our ancestors listened to travellers' tales from India and Cathay.

John Lawrence's *Life in Russia* is of particular value because of its moderation and its obvious authenticity. Few men have had better opportunities for writing such a book. In 1942 he was sent to Russia by the Foreign Office to take charge of all British publicity in the Soviet Union and to edit *The British Ally.* His work gave him more freedom to travel than was available to the average Englishman in wartime and he made many journeys—east as far as Sverdlovsk across the Urals, south to Azerbaijan, and south-east to Uzbekistan and Turkmenia.

Many of Russia's wartime scarcities are of interest because they involve problems that have only overtaken us since the war ended. The shortage of consumer goods and the excess of purchasing power over commodities became acute in Russia early in the war. This in turn led to a shortage of food because the peasants "did not feel the need to undertake long and difficult journeys to town to sell their products in exchange for a pocketful of roubles with which nothing could be bought." The Russians solved the problem by turning out more consumer goods and making them available to the peasants through State-owned "commercial" shops at prices high enough to absorb the surplus purchasing power.

To the many who still have inaccurate ideas on the Russian social system, it is instructive to read that "all well-to-do people have some domestic help and as a matter of fact it is much easier to find servants in Moscow than it is in London. The money wage is not high but the employer has to feed his servants and clothe them too, or at any rate to help them out with clothing."

The Russians have developed a most useful little word for a faculty which every Englishman is now learning but for which we have as yet no special word:

There is a special technique of living in

the Soviet Union under war or near-war conditions. The Russians call this technique "Blat", a word which includes everything from the know-how of getting things done to practices which may come very near to corruption. In Soviet Russia there is no corruption in high places whatsoever, so far as I have heard, which is indeed remarkable when one considers the unenviable reputation for corruption of the Tsarist bureaucracy. But Blat is everywhere. Blat is what the French call 'le Systeme D'. It involves knowing the right people for getting things done, and it involves giving one's quid pro quo.

Of Russian methods of enforcing State discipline John Lawrence has no illusions: "Much suffering and loss of life is caused by sheer childish incompetence, but I have not heard of sadistic cruelty."

Life in Russia covers a range of subjects almost as wide as the vast geographical area with which it deals—from hospital treatment in Moscow to Shakespeare in Tashkent. My only adverse criticism is the lack of maps. It is tiresome to be told (on page 229) of a scheme "to bring Oxus water to the Murghab oases and eventually to the Tedjen—see map" and to find that the only map is a small-scale diagram on the endpapers which shows neither the Tedjen nor Murghab.

Lack of maps except on end-papers seems to be an infectious complaint. Edward Howell's remarkable escape story suffers from an exactly similar weakness, though to a lesser degree since one of the end-plates is of a reasonable scale. He was badly wounded in the invasion of Crete, was captured and taken to a German hospital in Salonika. With both his arms still useless, he escaped and made a difficult journey on foot to the Aegean coast. From there he got away by caique to the Turkish island of Imbros. The story is exceptional for the author's faith in his own destiny and for his unusual power of narrative. His account of the generosity and courage of the Greek people, always ready to risk their lives to help him on his way, is good reading and a reminder of qualities which we must not allow ourselves to forget.

GORDON WINTER.

ECONOMICS OF MIGRATION, by Julius Isaac. *Kegan Paul.* 18*s.*

Refugees from political, racial and religious persecution, the slave labour used on an unprecedented scale by the Nazis, the mass population transfers, such as that partially effected by the Italian and German governments in 1939 in the South Tyrol, have created in Europe a considerable instability in population movements. It is not these movements *per se* but their connection with political factors that has given them their cardinal importance and their news value. Mr. Isaac's study comes at the right moment and provides a useful corrective to the muddled and often sentimental thinking which to-day surrounds the whole question

He has in the main restricted his work to the problem of the migration of free individuals and to the economic aspects of emigration and immigration which, as he points out, "are not merely the same act seen from different points of view; they are two different phenomena." Immigration connotes the settlement of an individual in a country willing to accept him as a permanent resident; emigration is generally connected in the emigrant's mind with the notion of a temporary absence from his own country whether the motives be economic or political.

After a preliminary historical survey Mr. Isaac devotes his book to an exhaustive discussion of the control and effects of migration, and its financial results on trade and capital movements.

The nineteenth century was pre-eminently the age of large-scale migration, caused by the unparalleled increase in the population of Europe. The numbers rose from 187 millions in 1800 to 401 millions in 1900. Until 1880 the majority of emigrants came from the British Isles and of the fifty-two millions

who left Europe between 1846 and 1932 more than one-third came from the same source. The situation to-day is totally different. Europe's population is on the decline and vast population movements will not in future flow from Europe. It is in Asia where more people live to the square mile than has ever been the case in the continents of the Western hemisphere that a great aggregate increase of population is to be expected and it is this fact which will in course of time have a major influence on the general distribution of the world's population and on economic developments.

Concerning the present-day situation Mr. Isaac calls attention to two important factors which influence migration, from the point of view of volume and that of direction. State education, social services, nationalist propaganda all create a climate unpropitious to migration. "The individual has to overcome strong inhibitions before he is able to sever the links with his nation for mere economic reasons."

And the nineteenth century rule that an individual sought a country with a higher standard of living than his own has been invalidated, thanks to technical progress and the levelling of civilization. Wherever he goes the migrant may be sure of seeing Donald Duck and Gary Cooper on the films, and wherever he is he can hear broadcasts from his own country.

Mr. Isaac comes to the inevitable conclusion that although the migration of free individuals has in the past made notable contributions to human welfare, planning and control must of necessity be applied to migration in future.

Of the twelve million persons who were scheduled as "homeless" at the end of the war in Europe, only some two million remain to-day and it is estimated that the "core" for whom no easy solution can be found will amount to 500,000 persons. These figures are a tribute to the organizing agencies which have been subjected to an incessant fire of criticism and to considerable political pressure in the course of the accomplishment of their task with Displaced Persons. The absorption into the world economy of the last 500,000 is not a great problem. The essence of the migration problem is the establishment of the correct inter-relationship between the international movements of capital, goods and men. By his impartial, well-documented and sober examination of all the issues which govern and influence these movements Mr. Isaac has made a valuable contribution to economic and sociological study.

H. DU COUDRAY.

PUZZLED PEOPLE. *Mass-Observation*: *Victor Gollancz.* 7*s.* 6*d.*

IS THERE AN HONEST GOD? by J. W. B. Worsley. *Macdonald.* 10*s.* 6*d.*

Mass-Observation, on the suggestion of the Ethical Union, has produced a volume which deserves the keenest attention not only of all religious leaders, but of all publicists as well. Closely documented as it is, it presents in semi-statistical terms, a picture of the mind of an inner ring suburb in London, and that particular picture is filled out by the observations and comments of Mass-Observation's own special staff in different parts of the country. There can be little doubt that they have, between them, drawn an accurate picture, and that the ethical and spiritual situation is even so. One may doubt the conclusions they draw from their facts and the interpretation they give of the situation; there can be no doubt at all this is the mind with which both priest and politician have to deal. From this point both alike have to start.

The greater part of the book is taken up with the part that religion plays in the mind of 'Metrop', to use the name given to the area on which the report is based, and, quite logically, it begins with the prevalence of belief in God. About two-thirds of the men and four-fifths of

the women said that they believed in God more or less. One man in three, and one woman in five expressed definite doubt, whilst one in twenty, mostly young men, were uncompromising disbelievers. Broadly speaking, the same sort of proportions held good throughout all educational strata, but it is to be noted that there were twice as many non-believers among the young as among the old. The significant thing is that the war was responsible for very little loss of faith, and this, in turn, means that we have to do with an epochal and general trend. We may say that one person in four has doubts about the existence of God.

Belief in God, however, by no means implies acceptance of conventional Christian teaching. Not more than eleven in every twenty of those who go to Church of England Churches believe in life after death, including those who believe in reincarnation, whilst the remainder are at all stages of disbelief and indecision. Nor is the picture any more reassuring when it is a question of such beliefs as the deity of Christ, the Virgin Birth, or such practical issues as an understanding of the meaning of life and attendance at Church. To sum up, it is a picture of a public mind in which religion is steadily losing hold, and of a Church which is itself permeated by doubt and uncertainty. When we remember that these statistics include those for the Roman Catholic Church, it is clear that the situation in Protestantism is appreciably worse than the general statistics suggest.

So far, the mind of 'Metrop' as revealed by this survey shows little that is new, and the figures are remarkably similar to those reached by Mr. Mudie Smith in his survey of the religious life of London a full generation ago. What is new is the emergence of scepticism as a general constituent of the modern mood. Not only religion, but science and politics are being engulfed by it, and this means that in the mind of 'Metrop' there is a growing vacuum with nothing on the horizon at the moment to fill it. That is a political portent of the utmost gravity, for when men are without God, without hope and without any clear understanding of the meaning of life, they are a prey ripe and ready for the political adventurer who is prepared to provide them with at least the two latter and claim for himself the loyalty hitherto only given to the former. A world which suspects everything is a world prepared to believe the most incredible nonsense whether it be religious or political. A disturbing, even a grim book, but one which will be neglected at our peril.

To turn from *Puzzled People* to Mr. Worsley's volume can only be described as a descent from realism to what it is not too much to call intellectual bathos. Mr. Worsley has not a few shrewd criticisms to make of both orthodox and unorthodox Christian faith, but it cannot be said that he has much to put in its place. His book is cast in the form of discussions between a group of people who sit at the feet of one, Scrooby, who is alleged to be a lecturer in the philosophy of religion at some unnamed university. At the end of the book one of Scrooby's hearer's says: "We've found God in values and the spirit" but it never seems to occur to Scrooby to ask "Whose values?" or why one particular set of values should be preferred to any other—issues which would be raised by the callowest undergraduate. However the questions raised by our first volume will be answered, it is safe to say that they will not be answered by the prim preciosity of the second.

B. C. PLOWRIGHT.

KING HENRY III AND THE LORD EDWARD: the Community of the Realm in the Thirteenth Century. By F. M. Powicke. *Oxford University Press. Two vols.* 42*s.*

This is a historian's history, a work of deep erudition. For the ordinary

reader it will be like a daunting quarry, rather formless, yet with its own austere beauty; out of it many, usually lesser men than its author, will draw material for lighter works that will more easily catch the multitude.

It is long and much of it is not easy reading. But those who dream to-day of "One World", those who would have established for all nations a common law and the elements of a common culture, will gain from studying these pages. The Middle Ages were a second Rome. Their peace was neither so profound, nor their ways so cultivated, but a man could walk the length and breadth of Europe and always find understanding.

The figures in this book make a concourse of internationalists, at home on any western soil. Simon de Montfort, the brilliant rebel, always more French than English, a younger son of the Ile de France, could be offered the governorship of Jerusalem and the regency of France, but chose to be Earl of Leicester and governor of Gascony—an English career that ended at Evesham. Henry III's brother, Richard of Cornwall, refused the crown of Sicily and was made king of the Romans at Aachen. Peter des Roches, born in Poitou, "the friend and companion of popes, emperors and kings," held in time the rich bishopric of Winchester. These men moved easily in a world that knew no frontiers as we know them, along whose roads rode slowly from kingdom to kingdom the legates and innumerable messengers of the Holy See—mundane emissaries of an order supernaturally founded.

This medieval background is more solid than the figure of Henry III himself. Few who lived between Rome and the Renaissance can easily be brought to life. The period is not rich in memoirs (in our sense they did not exist) and chroniclers were not greatly interested in human psychology, or, rather, they were unable to analyse it in detail. Henry III was devoted to the idea of the crusade, to the artistic and religious life; he venerated relics and went often on pilgrimage to England's local shrines. Westminster Abbey was re-built by him to glorify the remains of St. Edward the Confessor. In these things his heart lay. But he had a keen sense of his right and of what pertained to the King of England, and out of this rose the storms that troubled a life that would have been quiet.

In 1255 Henry accepted from the papacy the crown of Sicily for his son Edmund, but Sicily, in the hands of the Pope's enemies, had first to be conquered; that was part of the bargain. It was the pinch of Henry's efforts to raise money for the Sicilian venture that led to an alliance of the English laity and churchmen against their King and the Pope, and in this clash "began half a century of uncertain, but none the less real, development in whose course parliament and convocation took shape, and

Heffer's of Cambridge
for
BOOKS
ON ALL SUBJECTS
ENGLISH & FOREIGN
NEW & SECONDHAND

READY SHORTLY:
Catalogue 618, Book Bargains

HAVE YOU any books to sell? Good prices are always given for Fine, Rare and Scholarly Books.

W. HEFFER AND SONS, LTD.
PETTY CURY, CAMBRIDGE

THE BOOKSHOP KNOWN THE WORLD OVER

the doctrine of representation and consent was given a practical form." In the wars between a king who would go his own way and choose his own counsel and barons who felt they had a right to give the king their counsel and so direct his way, especially when what he did touched their pockets, lies the beginning of the great chain of English constitutional history. But all action, it is necessary to remember, was instinctive and expedient. No prime mover on either side was a political theorist; there was no prophetic Jefferson or Burke. The constitution's first shoots sprang out of appeals to old custom and established rights. No one worked to the pattern of what was to be, for none saw it, or aspired after it.

In these tumultuous rallyings of royalists and rebels, in their prolonged negotiations (where the nature of English bargaining already stands so clear) the book finds its climax. Simon de Montfort is the great and tantalizing character of this period—tantalizing because even the author cannot make him understandable.

This is an academic history in the tradition set by Ranke, an attempt to narrate events and the social scene as they actually were—*wie es eigentlich gewesen.* If the truth in history can never be reached, it is noble (and an immense labour) to seek to get as near to it as possible. Sir F. M. Powicke does not sacrifice humanity in the process, for what is warmly human in the most intractable material he delights to bring out. He has let in more light than any other man to the thirteenth century in England.

WALTER JAMES.

STRAVINSKY: A CRITICAL SURVEY, by Eric Walter White. *John Lehmann.* 15*s.*

HISTORY OF THE PIANO, by Ernest Closson, tr. Delano Ames. *Paul Elek.* 12*s.* 6*d.*

A penetrating survey of the work of Stravinsky is still needed. The three best known ballets in their concert-hall form have long ceased to puzzle, but the apparently random changes of style and direction shown in the later works need some explanation. When *Pulcinella* is given a concert performance, and the programme states that it is based on themes by Pergolesi, how can it avoid comparison with, for example, Tommasini's *Good Humoured Ladies* or Respighi's *La Boutique Fantasque?* The average listener receives an impression of a poorly executed work conceived in questionable taste. And what is he to make of those works in which the composer eschews all obvious emotionalism even to the extent of choosing the least expressive instruments and directing them to be played *sans nuances*: the Octet, for instance? Clearly some guidance is due.

In many ways the new book on this remarkable composer is exciting. It presents well integrated factual information about his life and works and one expects to find, and does find, answers to many questions, sidelights on Stravinsky's personality, and much anecdotal illustration. The index seems excellent, the appendices listing works, recordings and books are invaluable for reference, and the fourteen plates are well chosen.

No better series of notes on the works could be imagined, and yet it falls well short of being a critical survey. Perhaps it is too much to hope for more penetrating and wider criticism from one who is evidently a devotee; the reader must attempt his own assessment using the facts here presented. It does not help to be told by Mr. White that *Pulcinella* was a "cheerfully planned rape", and other witticisms of the sort.

Mr. White makes an attempt to deal with the composer's musical philosophy in a short chapter, "The Historical Sense", in which he draws a parallel between Stravinsky and T. S. Eliot. One doubts if either gains by the analogy, but it serves Mr. White well enough in ex-

cusing Stravinsky's fondness for using "derivative material". Other people, more bluntly, have accused him of lacking original melodic invention.

In 1931, complaining about the public's reception of some of his new works, Stravinsky is reported to have said to Heinrich Strobel:

> What am I to do? Some say they want me to write music that is shocking and provoking like my earlier works; others say that only now do I write proper music. They think I write like Verdi. Such nonsense! ! They don't listen right. These people always want to nail me down. But I won't let them! On the next occasion I shall do something quite different; and that bewilders them.

This hysterical outburst sounds almost like a gesture of despair, not defiance, of a man who realizes that he has cared too much about the impression he has been making on the world, his critics and fellow-artists. Possibly here, coupled with unsettling changes of nationality, we have a clue to the reason for his apparent lack of artistic direction. This whole question needs study and readers will be grateful to Mr. White for preparing the ground so adequately.

A romantic pageant of names is unfolded when the history of the piano is considered. It is necessary to go back more than four centuries in order to establish the logicality of the development of the piano from its predecessors, the clavichord and the harpsichord and its variants. It is true that the ubiquity of the modern piano has had a pernicious influence upon the appreciation of pre-piano music, and it has been charged with all sorts of crimes against Bach, but it should not be forgotten that the clavichord and harpsichord were both the subject of much dissatisfaction in their own day. Their virtues are unique, but the one has inadequate volume and the other no capacity for nuance. The piano has neither limitation.

The *History of the Piano* covers very well the period concerned and makes one realize that the piano came near to being invented earlier more than once. A detour of two hundred years was made when, in the sixteenth century, development in the "hammered" instruments (as in the clavichord) was abandoned for the plucked instruments: the first piano action had to wait until the beginning of the eighteenth century.

This book was originally published in Brussels and we may presume that a little lucidity in the technical parts was lost in the translation: some of the diagrams seem curiously divorced from the text. However, the photographs are excellent—there are seventeen—and so is the layout which leaves a refreshing amount of blank paper.

PHILIP MORRIS.

ALL THE CONFERENCES ARE FAILURES. THIS IS INEVITABLE FOR HOLY SCRIPTURE DECLARES THEIR FUTILITY IN THESE WORDS:—

"Associate yourselves, O ye people and ye shall be broken in pieces.'

"Take counsel together, and it shall come to nought; speak the word, and it shall not stand."

"LET GOD BE YOUR FEAR, AND LET GOD BE YOUR DREAD." (Isaiah viii.)

"And it shall come to pass, that WHOSOEVER shall CALL on the name of the LORD shall be delivered." (Joel ii. 32)

Write for free leaflets to

THE PANACEA SOCIETY,
Bedford, England

BOOKS ON THE TABLE

HAD the walrus contemplated the table's present diversity he might have included a stanza thus: 'Of schools and clocks and Labour's lapse and yucca-moths and rings'. MY WOODLAND FRIENDS by S. L. Bensusan (*Blandford Press.* 10*s.* 6*d.*) is no random starting-point however. It is deliberately preferred because its concern for the elementals may be said, at the risk of being portentous (which Mr. Bensusan never is), to make it the natural leader of the remaining sixteen books wherein man-made activity is for the greater part exhibited.

Although "No botanist has anything to learn from me" says Mr. Bensusan, surely with a chuckle, tree lovers wandering about his twenty-acre wood in Essex will learn from him a deeper understanding of the habits and needs of trees, will discover that the lords oak, elm and ash, the ladies birch, beech and lime, and the decorators—sycamore, elder and hawthorn—have a well-defined place, apart from their beauty, in nature's scheme. But most of us love trees first of all because they are beautiful and Mr. Bensusan shows how instinctive is this emotion and how akin to worship. The wood for him is an apotheosis, the cradle of folk-lore and religion. He is stored with legend and fairy-tale and pours out these riches for his own and our delight. To make his book perfect he strictly observes his own maxim: "Modesty and humility should walk side by side with observation."

And Joan Rickarby's woodcuts are as instructive as they are near to Mr. Bensusan's philosophy and intention.

Departed glories

Continuing the story of man's search for God is VISION OF PERU by Violet Clifton (*Duckworth.* 21*s.*). In her hands the geography of the region "beyond the Andes" is tied and tangled with myth. She tells of Indian and Spaniard, of slaves and kings, of conquerors and saints, through the long history of South American civilizations and makes a bright embroidery of it all.—— Sir Leonard Woolley's UR: THE FIRST PHASES (*King Penguin.* 2*s.* 6*d.*) takes us across Africa to the Euphrates valley of 5,000 years ago. The essay is a pendant to the author's *Ur of the Chaldees* and describes the cemetery, the contents of the tombs and the background that made them possible. Yet the present-day visitor to southern Iraq is forced to wonder "that this unpromising land should have been the birthplace and seat of a great civilization." The sixteen coloured plates quicken the imagination, for they paint without garishness the perfection of art and craft in jewellery, architecture, pottery and weapons.

Marking time

As a contrast to those days when time was measured by the light and the dark, the tyranny of the clock in the historical age may be estimated in all its tiresomeness. But R. W. Symonds in another *King Penguin,* A BOOK OF ENGLISH CLOCKS, is mainly concerned with the story of the mechanical ones dating from about the thirteenth century. His book is profusely illustrated with photographs that are sufficient in themselves to indicate the progress of the craft. Even the unmechanically-minded will enjoy this book, so pleasantly presented is the erudition and so satisfyingly enlightening is it on many points hitherto uncritically accepted.——It is but a step to the history of a shop and BROWNS AND CHESTER (*Mass-Observation*: *Lindsay Drummond.* 15*s.*) is an engrossing study of a century and a half in the drapery business. Not merely changing fashions are recorded, in all their allurement, but the story of a family and a city is here bound up too. Particularly interesting are the chapters on the political associations of the firm from those days when to be "a campaigner for the Liberal Party" meant for a tradesman the taking

of a tremendous decision.

Practical idealism

A modern Liberal, Mr. Elliott Dodds, has undertaken THE DEFENCE OF MAN (*Herbert Joseph.* 5*s.*), a heavy task for these beleaguered times. He points conclusively to plans which would ensure increasing freedom instead of the increasing restrictions which he feels are being imposed by the Labour Government. He seems to have combined successfully Liberal thought and practical Liberal measures.——Norman Mansfield, too, in FAILURE OF THE LEFT (*Staples.* 10*s.* 6*d.*) utters "a plea for the return of the liberal spirit to politics." Though he prefers a small 'l' he and Mr. Dodds are thinking along the same lines. His final section, called "Liberalism the key", stresses that "the liberal must find his idealism in practice and only thus can democracy have the prospect of success."

The revolutionary spirit

In THE BABEUF PLOT (*Routledge.* 7*s.* 6*d.*) David Thomson claims that the *mystique* of Babouvism "casts some light on the meaning of republicanism and democracy in the Fourth French Republic." Babeuf planned a conspiracy in 1796 to overthrow the Directory, and the "Manifesto of the Equals", which was the groups' charter, aimed at restoring the original spirit of the revolution. How this plot failed, how the instigator was brought to trial and execution and how the influence of his theories survived is now told by Mr. Thomson to an English-speaking world which knows all too little about them.——A hundred years ago another nearly forgotten Frenchman was born. His was a spiritual growth, traced by Emmanuela Polimeni in LEON BLOY, THE PAUPER PROPHET (*Dennis Dobson.* 6*s.*). The most striking quality of his mind is expressed by Miss Polimeni as "his insight into those truths which lie just beyond reason." It is not primarily as a denunciatory prophet that she presents him but as one "whose faith in the Gospel verities led him to look upon the absence of sanctity among the professed followers of Christ as the world's major disaster."

Some poetry

Alexander Reid in STEPS TO A VIEWPOINT (*Andrew Dakers.* 5*s.*) tumbles us from the mystic to the terse with his saying on "Morality":

> Let all the sages moralise,
> Life's hollow as their bones,
> If men rise up at morn with sighs
> And go to bed with groans.

But that he is moving towards the formulation of an ideal, or what he fashionably calls "a new synthesis", is clear from his last poem, which is a kind of "These I have loved" recital but with an awareness of the horror that in February 1914 had not yet touched the radiant Rupert Brooke.——In THE INN OF NIGHT (*J. M. Dent.* 6*s.*) Stanley Snaith has his horrors too. But his bitterness in "The Burial Party" is offset by his tribute to W. N. P. Barbellion, and this second book of poems marks his progress as a poet whose breath is joy

> But schooled by pain, that strict-lipped doctrinaire.

——FIRST AND SECOND LOVE is a collection of forty-four sonnets by Eleanor Farjeon (*Michael Joseph.* 5*s.*) which though written over thirty years ago have been withheld until now. One wonders why, for she proves herself a master in this most difficult of all media. So moving, so self-pity-lacking are these sonnets that the reader feels a sense of intrusion; as if the reason for their belated appearance might be that, unlike Byron, their author could not "parade a bleeding heart".

Where to place them

And now for some sound advice on how to approach a publisher, an editor, a theatre management, a film company, the B.B.C., the markets for music, photographs, drawings and designs, with your book, article, play, scenario, script, score, libretto, camera-study, picture or greeting card. THE WRITERS' AND ARTISTS' YEAR BOOK 1947 (*A. & C. Black.* 6*s.*)

is the sort of publication that once opened encourages a browse. Of course it is indispensable commercially, though this is computing its merits at the lowest worth. ——Another indispensable, educationally, is THE PUBLIC AND PREPARATORY SCHOOLS YEAR BOOK 1947, edited by J. F. Burnet and L. W. Taylor (also *A. & C. Black.* 15*s.*). But let no one from mere lack of a son to place be deterred from study of its pages. As well as the pleasant pastime of comparing the characteristics of schools, there are sections devoted to the pursuit of an occupation in the Services, in Holy Orders and in a long list of professions, from which much concise information may be gathered, just for the sweet satisfaction of curiosity. Who, for instance, could have thought previously that here would be weighed the prospects for a career in veterinary science or in dentistry?

A gentle snob

Jane Austen would have revelled in the particulars of our older and more expensive public schools, preoccupied as she was in her pages by the eligibility of the sons of gentlemen. Monica Dickens discusses this obsession with matrimony in her introduction to a new edition of EMMA (*Williams & Norgate.* 8*s.* 6*d.*) and her essay will whet the appetite of the newcomer and call forth ready agreement from the addict. Without being an extreme Janeite, that is the unswerving reader of a nightly portion, one can always be caught afresh by the special and elusive charm of this book, which as Miss Dickens so truly says, "relies for its substance almost entirely on character, and hardly at all on incident." Like *Persuasion,* its predecessor in this edition, *Emma* is attractively bound and printed, quite an asset psychologically in a "classic".

Mr. Morgan and the novel

The bad angel in Charles Morgan's novel THE JUDGE'S STORY (*Macmillan.* 7*s.* 6*d.*) is an avid rare-book collector. One is always puzzled to discover why a Charles Morgan novel is not entirely satisfactory. His characters are credible enough—it is what they do, as a compulsion from all that they have thought or said, that probably causes the strain. The affair of the wager in this book, for example, is so improbable that the attention wanders, just when the tenseness of the situation should be overmastering. The judge with the book inside him that he has been waiting all his life to write is a living parable and as such may be recognized in every one of us. His love for his ward is real enough too. But the disappointment persists, all the more keenly because Mr. Morgan writes so beautifully.

Symbolic embers

The behaviour of the old eccentric in EMBERS, by Frank Baker (*Andrew Dakers.* 7*s.* 6*d*), arises spontaneously out of the circumstances of a man living alone in a one-time cricket pavilion, surrounded by cats and clutter, and avoiding the world. In his involuntary contacts with other people his wildest and most irascible statements have in them a grain of shrewdness, of wisdom moreover, which makes his conversation something to be watched for throughout the book. Not all his antics, real or assumed, can make him lose our respect; it is only from his disgusting cats that we recoil. The pattern of young Martin Ward's life seems to be a vague repetition in some respects of the old man's. Ward, too, "lived at a time when less than ever did men want song." The music and the reaction to it are very well conveyed and are in fact inseparable from the atmosphere of the book. Its theme is less tortuous than that of the author's last novel, BEFORE I GO HENCE. Nevertheless, that—like this—is a book to ponder well.

GRACE BANYARD.

ADVERTISEMENT AND BUSINESS OFFICES: 4, 5 & 6, SOHO SQUARE, LONDON, W.1
PUBLISHED FOR THE FORTNIGHTLY REVIEW, LTD., BY HORACE MARSHALL & SON, LTD., Publishing Department, Temple House, Tallis Street, E.C.4
PRINTED IN GREAT BRITAIN BY GEERINGS OF ASHFORD, LTD., 80 HIGH STREET, ASHFORD, KENT
PUBLISHED IN ENGLAND